THE LIVES OF THE POPES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

HORACE K. 1859-1928 MANN, JOHANNES HOLLNSTEINER

The lives of the popes in the early middle ages

Horace K. 1859-1928 Mann,
Johannes Hollnsteiner

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THE LIVES OF THE POPES

VOL. V

THE

LIVES OF THE POPES

IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

BY THE

REV. HORACE K. MANN

"De gente Anglorum, qui maxime familiares Apostolicæ Sedis semper existunt" (*Gesta Abb. Fontanel. A.D.* 747–752, ap. M.G. SS. II. 289).

HEAD MASTER OF ST. CUTHBERT'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF HISTORY OF SPAIN

THE POPES IN THE DAYS OF FEUDAL ANARCHY

FORMOSUS TO DAMASUS II.

891–1048

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HIS ALMA MATER

ST CUTHBERT'S COLLEGE, USHAW

THIS VOLUME

Is respectfully Dedicated

BY

A GRATEFUL SON

A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME.

Jaffé, or Regesta = *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Jaffé, 2nd ed., Lipsiæ, 1885.

Labbe = *Sacrosancta Concilia*, ed. Labbe and Cossart, Paris, 1671.

L. P., *Anastasius*, or the *Book of the Popes* = *Liber Pontificalis*, 2 vols., ed. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886.

M. G. H., or Pertz = *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, either *Scriptores* (M. G. SS.) or *Epistolæ* (M. G. Epp.) or *Poetæ* (M. G. PP.).

P. G. = *Patrologia Græca*, ed. Migne, Paris.

P. L. = *Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, Paris.

R. I. SS. = *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. Muratori, Milan, 1723 ff.

R. S., following an edition of a book = The edition of the Chronicles, etc., published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls.

The sign † placed before a date indicates that the date in question is the year of the death of the person after whose name the sign and date are placed.

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SYLVESTER II.

A.D. 999-1003.

Sources.—By far the most important source for the biography of Sylvester is his own letters. These, to the number of over two hundred, have been frequently edited. We will mention only some of the best-known editions. With the rest of his works, and with accompanying notes and biography, Mons. Olleris put forth a good edition of them in 1867. Migne, dividing them into two classes according as they were written before or after he became Pope, reproduced, for the former and more numerous class, the edition of Duchesne (*Hist. Franc. SS.*, t. ii.) in 1880 (*P. L.*, t. 139), and for the latter the isolated productions of various authors. But the edition which is most generally quoted now is that of Julien Havet (Paris, 1889), in the series of Picard's *Collection des Textes*. This is the edition of which we shall make use in this biography. Various circumstances, unfortunately, limit to some extent the use to which Sylvester's letters could be put. Their utility is considerably impaired, for instance, by the fact that they are undated, and in some cases lack any certain means by which it can be determined to whom they were addressed. Furthermore, they are in parts frequently obscure, and that not only from such a natural cause as our ignorance of many conditions to which he refers, but also owing to his love of brevity, and sometimes to a deliberate resolve on his part to be obscure. He used to maintain[1] that wisdom was to be found where there was no great abundance of words. His letters certainly give evidence that he acted up to his axiom that he who has business with a wise man has not to use many words.[1] Despite these drawbacks, however, the letters of Gerbert are of inestimable value for the light they throw both on the man and on his age. A French translation of them is given by Barthélemy at the end of his *Gerbert*, Paris, Lecoffre, 1868.

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[1] "Quod non habet verborum copia, continent sententiarum pondera." Ep. 40.

Modern Works.—A glance at the bibliographies of Cerroti (*Bibliografia di Roma*, 1893), Chevalier (*Répertoire des Sources historiques du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1877), and Potthast (*Bibliotheca Hist. Med. Ævi.*, Berlin, 2nd ed.) will serve to convince anyone that "Gerbert, who was afterwards known as Sylvester II.," has been a very popular theme with historical writers. As might have been expected, the authors who have had most to say about the first French Pope have been his fellow-countrymen. With the best of reasons are they proud of Sylvester II. I shall confine myself to noticing here the works I have myself examined. Besides the work of Barthélemy already mentioned, a biography of Sylvester is given by Havet and by the other editors of Gerbert's works quoted above. The *Life* of Sylvester which deserves to be noticed first is that by C. F. Hock, *Gerbert oder Papst Sylvester II.*, Vienna, 1837. Hock was one of the first of a series of non-Catholic authors whose writings did so much to clear away the dense clouds of prejudice which prevented the Middle Ages and the Popes of that period from being appreciated at their proper value. We shall cite the Abbé Axinger's French translation of Hock's work (*Hist. du Pape Sylvestre II.*, Paris, 1842), which, however, Barthélemy[2] holds in no great estimation. Founded to a large extent on Hock's book is an article in the *Dublin Review*, vi. 1839. Since the time of Hock fresh material (such as the *History* of Richer) for the life of Sylvester has been unearthed. Of this new matter the Abbé Lausser (*Gerbert*, *étude hist. sur le X^e siècle*, Aurillac, 1866), Mr. Allen ("Gerbert, Pope Silvester II.," an excellent essay in the *English Historical Review*, 1892. It was awarded the Lothian prize in the University of Oxford in

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[1] "Ei qui cum sapiente rationem instituerit, non multa oratione inlaborandum." Ep. 66.

[2] *Gerbert*, p. 118. "On ne saurait trop se défier de cette traduction, qui offre des noms méconnaissables pour la plupart."

1891), and Picavet (*Gerbert, un pape Philosophe*, Paris, 1897) have availed themselves. The origin of the stories of magic which later ages connected with the name of Gerbert is traced by Doellinger in his *Papstfabeln*. *Les Papes Français*, by C. P., Tours, Mame, 1901, a work on the thirteen French Popes, is written "simplement edifier et instruire" (Préf., p. 8).

Sylvester II.

AFTER having had to deal so long rather with shadows of men than with living human beings, it is a great satisfaction in the midst of this dark and misty tenth century to encounter one who steps forth from its gloom a living, breathing man. Of so many Popes in this century the records of history furnish the writer with merely a few dry bones which he has to try and arrange so as to represent the human form divine as best he may. But in Gerbert of Aquitaine he has the good fortune to come across one who, while able and willing so to do, has actually left for his would-be biographers such materials that, if they aim at no more than reproducing that with which he has supplied them, they can scarcely fail to give their readers some substantial idea of "the most accomplished man of the dark ages."[1]

Of his force of character and physical and mental accomplishments we must form no slight estimate when we remember that, from being an obscure monk of lowly birth among the mountains of Auvergne, he became head of the episcopal school of Rheims, the tutor of kings and emperors, and archbishop first of the important city of Rheims and then of Ravenna, after Milan the Italian see next in rank to that of Rome; and that finally, after being the trusted friend and adviser of noble and bishop, of king and emperor, he became the head of Christ's Church on earth.

[1] Hallam, *Hist. Lit.*, i. 71

What in Gerbert most impressed his own and subsequent ages was his profound learning. Learned he certainly was, and he both loved learning himself and befriended those in whose breasts glowed the same sacred fire. As in the case of our own Venerable Bede, he was skilled as well in physical science as in the ordinary more or less theological studies which were cultivated in his day. But he differed from our holy doctor, and from most of the other scholars of the early Middle Ages, in that he devoted himself to practical work in the domain of physical science.[1] And though, in the case of *medicine*, he did not care for the practical side of it—perhaps because he thought that that was no part of the work of a priest—he took a great interest in its theory.[2] Most dear to him were the books he had locked up in his chests;[3] he never wearied in his efforts to add to their number.[4] With all his love of every branch of learning and of its silent depositories, though he declared that he would never in his own case divorce learning and virtue, still he proclaimed the superiority of the latter over the former.[5] Possessed, then, not only of a large store of knowledge, but also of a true appreciation of its proper position, no wonder that in his case it could not have been said that "science puffeth up," but that, on the contrary, he was as much distinguished for his modesty[1] as for his attainments. He loved not learning merely for its own sake; the acquisition of it at all costs was not his sole aim in life. He was always ready to lay down his books whenever the honour of God or his neighbour's profit required it. As he reminded one good abbot who was very much immersed in public affairs, "the art of arts is, after all, the guidance of souls."[2] Similarly, when what he regarded as a crisis in the state or at least in the affairs of his friends, called for his active exertions outside his library, he threw studies to the winds, and forcibly bade those, who at that period would have had him still devote himself to scientific pursuits, await better times when he might be able to revivify the habits of learned research which were then dead within him.[3] He would not be caught at his books when the enemy were storming the walls of his city.

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[1] He was often engaged in making globes. *Cf.* epp. 134, 148, etc.; and he tells us of the scientific instruments which he had—epp. 70, 91, 92, 163.

[2] "Nec me auctore quæ medicorum sunt tractare velis, præsertim cum scientiam eorum tantum affectaverim, officium semper fugerim." Ep. 151; *cf.* ep. 169.

[3] "Carissima vobis ac nobis librorum volumina." Ep. 81. "Claves librorum quas mitterem ignoravi propter communem usum similium serarum." Ep. 8.

[4] "Bibliothecam assidue comparo . . . . Romæ ac in aliis partibus Italiæ, in Germania quoque et Belgica (Lorraine), scriptores (copyists) auctorumque exemplaria multitudine nummorum redemi." Ep. 44.

[5] *Ib.*

Another fine trait in Gerbert's character was his loyal adhesion to his friends. To any cause he took up, to any friend he adopted, he was ever faithful. And if for a brief space, overcome probably by fear for his life, and at a time when, possibly at any rate, he was still suffering from the effects of a severe illness, he was unfaithful to Hugh Capet and his son Robert, the deep sorrow he manifested[4] for his fall only makes his general habit of loyalty to his friends stand out in yet grander relief.

One who has great influence with the mighty ones of this world, and is at the same time a man of large views,[1] noble aims, and fixed and elevated purpose, must, if known to be true to his friends, wield very considerable power. Gerbert was no exception to the rule. So great was his sway over the minds and hearts of men, and so evident the large share which his hands had in many of the most important political events of his time, that his enemies dubbed him the king-maker.[2]

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[1] *Cf.* an instance of it in a letter (ep. 224, ed. Olleris) to a certain bishop, written by Gerbert after he became Pope.

[2] Ep. 67. *Cf.* ep. 203, where he insists on the prudence and discretion necessary in dealing with the souls of men.

[3] "Num amici qui . . . . mecum laborabant ob tornatile lignum (a globe he had been asked to make) deserendi erant? Patere ergo patienter moras necessitate impositas, ac meliora tempora expecta, quibus valeant resuscitari studia, jampridem in nobis emortua." Ep. 152.

[4] *Cf.* ep. 170–173.

But did he not acquire and use political power merely to serve his ambition? And, in order to keep the place his ambitious exertions had won for him, did he not show himself a disobedient servant, and refuse to offer due submission to the Pope? There is truth in both these accusations. However, till the reader has had the facts of Gerbert's life placed before him, we will confine ourselves to asking, "Does it seem an unnatural or evil thing to seek some reward after years of constant and faithful service?"[3] and to stating that if Gerbert's ardent spirit,[4] deeply crossed in a most tender spot, led him into words and actions derogatory to the dignity of the Holy See, he yielded in the end to calm advice and the adverse tide, and did not allow himself to drop either into heresy or schism. Without further introduction we may now proceed to describe in full the fine figure of the first French Pope which has thrown forward this shapely shadow.

hplace parent- of bert.

Leaving behind him the picturesque mountains of Upper Auvergne, the traveller will find at the entrance of a quiet valley which slopes upwards towards them the equally quiet town of Aurillac, the capital of the department of the Cantal.[1] Though its principal objects of interest, its old churches, its monasteries with the palace of the abbot, were destroyed by the Huguenots (1569), Aurillac still merits our regard as the first place associated with the name of Gerbert. A bronze statue of him in its principal square still keeps his memory there ever fresh. All that is known for certain of the origin of him who was to be "the vast Pope" (*papa ingens*),[2] Sylvester II., is that he was a native of Aquitaine, and came of a family of no great importance in the world.[3] From the last-mentioned fact, however, and from the fact that not only was Gerbert educated at Aurillac, but relations of his were to be found in the monastery there,[4] we may safely infer that he was born in or near Aurillac. When he left the monastery which had been the home of his boyhood (*c.* 970), he was described as a young man (*adolescens*),[5] and hence he is generally supposed to have been born about the year 940, *i.e.*, before the middle of the tenth century. A pontifical catalogue gives Agilbert as the name of his father.

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[1] *Cf.* ep. 12, where Gerbert treats of his wide views in a jocular spirit.

[2] "Me ad invidiam Karoli (Charles of Lorraine), nostram patriam tunc et nunc vexantis, digito notabant, qui reges deponerem, regesque ordinarem." Ep. 163. Ep. 177 is also calculated to give a strong impression of Gerbert's great political influence.

[3] Allen, p. 663.

[4] For he did not pretend to be free from the passions of "anger, hatred, and pity." *Cf.* ep. 70.

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[1] This with the Puy de Dome formed the old province of Auvergne, while that again was included, at the time of which we are now writing, in the dukedom of Aquitaine.

[2] *Catal.*, ap. *L. P.*, ii.

[3] Speaking of his elevation to the See of Rheims, he says that: "me nescire cur egenus, et exul, *nec genere*, nec divitiis adjutus, multis locupletibus et nobilitate parentum conspicuis prælatus sit." Ep. 217, p. 229. *Cf.* Raoul Glaber, *Hist.*, i., c. 4, n. 13: "Gerbertus . . . . minorum etiam gerens prosapiam virorum"; and the Chronicle of the abbey of Aurillac (ap. Mabillon, *Vet. Analecta*, ii. 237), "obscuro loco natum." Both Richer (*Hist.*, iii. 43) and the catalogues (*L. P.*, ii.) speak of him as "Aquitanus genere" and "natione Aquitanus"; as does Ademar of Chabannes, also a contemporary: "Girbertus (the name is often spelt thus) natione Aquitanus, monacus (sic) Aureliacensis S. Geraldi ecclesiæ." *Chron.*, iii., c. 31.

[4] Ep. 194.

[5] Richer, iii. 43.

arly edu-
tion at
arillac.

He received his early training in virtue and in knowledge (*grammatica*) in the Benedictine house of St. Gerauld in Aurillac.[1] This monastery had been founded (894) in honour of SS. Peter and Clement by a Count Gerauld (†909). But it soon took the name of its founder, who died in the odour of sanctity. Famous for its beautiful church, and for the caligraphy of its monks,[2] it adopted the reform of Cluny and, at the time of which we are speaking, was under the guidance of a most enlightened man, Gerauld de Saint-Céré (†986). In this abode of piety and learning Gerbert was instructed not only in *grammar*, *i.e.*, in Latin, or "in what was then understood by rhetoric," but also in the science of the heart, in uprightness. And, what is more important, he was trained with that same loving care which is still characteristic of Benedictine educational methods even in this twentieth century—with that sweet skill which makes those who have been brought up under them look back with grateful fondness to their school life, and cherish the memory both of those who taught them and of the home in which masters and scholars lived so happily together. The master who made the greatest impression on the mind of the young Gerbert was the monk Raimond, who succeeded Gerauld as abbot. "To him," wrote[3] Gerbert when archbishop of Rheims, "after God, I owe any learning I may possess." In many of his letters Gerbert tenderly refers to Raimond, and many[4] of them are addressed to the good monk himself. "The love I bear you," he writes to him, "is known to all, as well Latins as barbarians, who share in the fruits of my labour." The name of his beloved master was ever upon his lips, so that his scholars at the episcopal school of Rheims were themselves inspired with respect for Raimond and wished to see him.[1] On the death of Abbot Gerauld (986) and the election of his dear master to succeed him, most tactfully does Gerbert express his grief for the former event and his joy for the latter: "When death deprived me of my most illustrious father Gerauld, it seemed to me that I had lost part of myself. But when, in harmony with my wishes, you, my best beloved, were chosen to succeed him, then was I again wholly reborn as your son."[2] Not only was the illustrious disciple in the habit of commending himself to his master's prayers, but he longed to have him by his side, so that even when a teacher himself his studies might be helped by the instruction of his old professor.[3]

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[1] Richer, iii. 43. "In cœnobio S. Geroldi a puero altus et grammatica edoctus est." *Cf.* epp. 45 (end), 194.

[2] Hock, pp. 59, 88.

[3] "In commune quidem omnibus vobis (the whole community of Aurillac) pro mei institutione grates rependo, sed spetialius patri R(aimundo), cui si quid scientiæ in me est, post Deum, inter omnes mortales gratias rependo." Ep. 194. Raimundus "cui omnia debeo." Ep. 92.

[4] Epp. 45, 91, 163. "Quanto amore vestri teneamur, noverunt Latini ac barbari qui sunt participes fructus nostri laboris." Ep. 45.

But the affection of Gerbert for Aurillac was not limited to one of its masters. It extended to its abbot, to many of its monks in a more special way, and to the whole community in general—"that most holy company who had nourished him and brought him up."[4] Of his attachment to Gerauld, his forty-sixth letter, which is addressed to the abbot of Aurillac, is a neat indication. "No better gift," he writes, "has God given to men than that of friends, if only they be such as may be fitly sought and honourably retained. Happy was the day, happy the hour in which I had the good fortune to become acquainted with a man the memory of whose name suffices to drive all care from me. Though if I might enjoy his presence but occasionally, I should not idly consider myself a happier man. . . . Ever firmly fixed in my breast is the face of my friend, of Gerauld, at once my master and my father." The desire Gerbert expressed of seeing his old superior was reciprocated by the abbot.[1] And it may be said that the friendship of Gerbert for Gerauld was typical of his love for the whole fraternity of Aurillac. To be of further use to them he enlisted in their behalf the interest of Adalberon, archbishop of Rheims, probably at this period the most influential man in France. So completely did he succeed in this that he was able to assure the monks that not only all that he himself possessed was theirs, but that they might equally count on all that belonged to Adalberon.[2] To prove that he was not talking without good grounds, he announced[3] to Gerauld that, as an earnest of Adalberon's goodwill, the archbishop was, on one occasion, sending to him a worked linen coverlet, and, on another, a vestment of cloth-of-gold, a gold-embroidered stole, and other similar things.[4] And if we cannot now read any communication addressed to Aurillac by its famous pupil after he had become Pope, we must note that, while few of his pontifical letters have come down to us, we have it on satisfactory authority[5] that Sylvester II.

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[1] Ep. 45.

[2] "Clarissimo patre Geraldo orbatus, non totus superesse visus sum. Sed te desiderantissimo secundum vota mea in patrem creato, denuo totus renascor in filium." Ep. 91.

[3] Writing to Abbot Gerauld after his months of misery at Bobbio, he tells him (Gerauld), "Studiaque nostra tempore intermissa, animo retenta repetimus. Quibus, si placet, magistrum quondam nostrum Raimundum interesse cupimus." Ep. 16.

[4] Ep. 45. "Sanctissimus ordo, meus altor, informator."

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[1] Ep. 70.

[2] *Cf.* epp. 17, 92, 70. "Quæ nostri juris sunt (he says to Gerauld), ut vestra spectate." Ep. 70. "Quæ sua (Adalberon's) sunt, vestra putate." Ep. 17.

[3] Ep. 17. "Sagum lineum operosum vobis mittit, sicut olim . . . . alterum miserat sed planum."

[4] Ep. 35.

[5] *Brev. Chron. Auril.*, ap. Mabillon, *Anal.*, ii., p. 241.

continued to correspond with his esteemed master Raimond. We are, therefore, abundantly justified in asserting that if ever there was a grateful scholar it was Gerbert of Aquitaine.

Borel, duke of the Spanish March, 967.

About the time that Gerbert had reached what we call "man's estate," the quiet, happy, and studious life he had been leading as a young monk at Aurillac was brought to an end by the arrival at the monastery of a great noble Borel, duke of the Spanish March (Catalonia) and count of Barcelona (967).

After the Franks, following up the victories of Charles Martel, had driven the Saracens out of Gaul, they pursued them over the Pyrenees And just as, retreating before the invading Moors, the Visigoths at length found a foothold in the north-west of Spain, in the Asturias, so the victorious Franks, driving the Moslems before them, founded a dependency in the north-east The counts of Barcelona soon became practically independent, and from the time of Wilfrid the Hairy (898–906) the government of the Spanish March was held by his descendants. Fifth in succession from Wilfrid, Borel inaugurated his reign, destined to be a very troubled one, by commending himself and his affairs to God at the monastery of Aurillac.[1] Eager to have his monks instructed in the highest branches of learning, Abbot Gerauld inquired of the duke if there were in Spain professors of the highest order (*in artibus perfecti*). Promptly assured that there were, the abbot begged Borel to take one of his monks back with him to Spain, and have him there trained. This the duke agreed to do, and Gerbert, deservedly the favourite of his abbot, and at the same time the choice of his brethren,[1] was selected to return with Borel to Spain. There he was placed under the charge of Hatto, bishop of Vich (Ausona), and was by him carefully trained in mathematics.[2] Resting on the words of Richer, and on the fact that when Gerbert himself alludes to his sojourn in Spain it is to "the Spanish princes"[3] (Borel and Hatto) that he refers, we may safely reject the statement of Ademar,[4] that he studied at Cordova.

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[1] "In quo (the monastery of S Gerauld) utpote adolescens cum adhuc intentus moraretur, Borrellum citerioris Hispaniæ ducem orandi gratia ad idem cœnobium contigit devenisse." Richer, *Hist*, iii. 43

Cordova.

Still, it is far from being unlikely that Gerbert was indebted to the wisdom of the Arabs of Cordova at least indirectly. About the middle (755) of the eighth century there was established in that city the brilliant dynasty of the Ommeyads. This dynasty, which was quite independent of the caliphs of Bagdad, was founded by the wildly chivalric and splendour-loving Abdur Rahman I. (Abderrhaman I.). "He was an encourager of literature, as appears from the number of schools he founded and endowed."[5] And the famous mosque of Cordova, still known as El Mezquita (*The* Mosque), is an abiding proof of his enlightened love of the magnificent. It was "the noblest place of worship then standing in Europe, with its 1200 marble columns (of which some 900 are still erect) and its twenty brazen doors; the vast interior resplendent with porphyry and jasper and many-coloured precious stones, the walls glittering with harmonious mosaics"[1] Some of his successors, particularly Abdur Rahman II. (821–852) and Abdur Rahman III. (912–961), followed in the wake of the first of their name in adorning Cordova. And when we read[2] of the suburb and palace of Az Zahra, which Abdur Rahman III., the greatest of the Spanish Arabs, added to the already great beauties of Cordova, we seem to be listening to the recital of works performed rather by the heated imagination than by the creative intelligence and the lithesome fingers of the Oriental. But after we have put before our minds what was accomplished in the domain of architecture by the rulers of Cordova, we need not wonder at the nun Hrotsvitha describing the capital of Mohammedan Spain as "the pearl of the world." The magnificent ideas of Abdur Rahman III. were inherited by his son Hakam II. (961–976). He, however, turned his attention rather to the advancement of literature than to the beautifying of his city. He is said—but surely the vivid imagination of the East must be here at least allowed for—he is said to have collected 400,000 volumes.[3] At any rate, undoubtedly

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[1] "Dux . . . . fratrum consensu Gerbertum assumptum duxit." Richer, *Hist.*, iii. 43. *Cf.* epp. 45. 72.

[2] "Apud quem etiam in mathesi plurimum et efficaciter studuit." Richer, *ib.*

[3] Ep. 45.

[4] "Causa sophiæ . . . . Cordobam lustrans." *Chron.*, iii. 31. From the text it will be seen that Burke (*Hist. of Spain*, i., p. 287, ed. 1900) is mistaken in saying that the name of Gerbert's Spanish instructor is unknown. If the *Historia de las Universidades* of V. de la Fuente (which Burke, *ib.*, p. 284, says is the best general authority on the Universities of Spain) could be relied on, Gerbert could have gained nothing in the way of instruction in mathematics by a visit to Cordova, as his residence in Spain (967–970) was "at a time long anterior to the study of the exact sciences at Cordova." But the statement of Fuente seems hard to reconcile with some of the facts mentioned in the text. He repeats it, however, in his *Historia Eclesiástica* (ii. 194): "Pero es mas cierto que aprendió en Cataluna lo que por entónces quizá no se sabia en Córdoba," etc.

[5] *Hist. of Spain*, i. 259, by Dunham.

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[1] *Hist of Spain*, i. 168; *cf* 142 f, by Burke.

[2] *Ib.*

[3] Berrington (*Literary Hist. of the Middle Ages*, p. 442) says 600,000, and that the catalogue alone ran to 44 volumes; Mr. Allen, p. 627, gives 60,000 as the number of volumes. If this number is not that given by the sources, it is probably much nearer the truth than either of the other two, for what we read of the catalogue of Hakam's library seems to tell in favour rather of tens of thousands of books than of hundreds of thousands Quoting Aben Hayan (whom he calls the best Arabian historian of Spanish affairs, and, elsewhere (i. 23), though

"his reign is the golden age of Arabian literature in Spain."[1] "The academy of Cordova was founded under his auspices. Many colleges were erected, and libraries opened in other cities, while more than three hundred writers exercised their talents on various subjects of erudition."

But whilst Gerbert was in Spain, supreme power in the Moslem part of it was in the hands of an official (Almanzor or the Victorious) whom we may call *mayor of the palace* to Hisham II. (976–1012). To keep his power, he played into the hands of the fanatical class of *fakihs* (students of the Koran), and allowed them to purge the collection of Hakam. All works that were in any way connected with the natural sciences were objects of deep abhorrence to this intelligent section of the Moslem community, and "tens of thousands of priceless volumes were publicly committed to the flames."[2]

Though in all this no little allowance must be made for the expansion of historical facts by the heat of Oriental exaggeration, enough of the work of the medieval Spanish Moor in the domain of architecture still remains to enable us to form an unerring judgment as to his high state of civilisation even in the tenth century. "Hither Spain," at no great distance from Saragossa, can scarcely have failed to be influenced by the great intellectual movement that was going on under the caliphs of Cordova. So that, indirectly at any rate, Gerbert will have profited by the Arab-learning of the tenth century. He seems to have

without telling us the age in which he lived, "the diligent and renowned historiographer of the Beni-Omeya dynasty"), Condé writes that the catalogues of Alhakem's library "extended to forty-four volumes, each containing fifty sheets." *Hist. of the Arabs in Spain*, Eng. trans., i. 461.

[1] Dunham, *ib.*, p. 292; *cf.* Burke, *ib.*, 171.

[2] Burke, *l.c.*, 174. In fact, according to some authors, "Bien peu de livres en échappèrent." *Hist. Gén.*, by Rambaud and Lavisse, i., p. 781.

used books translated from Arabic,[1] and he is said to have employed the so-called Gobar (Arabic) numerals, which he could have learnt only from Arabian sources. Such at least is the contention of Mr. Allen. But others maintain that the *Gobar* characters, which he used for his system of numeration, were derived by him from Boethius or his disciples. They had, in their turn, received these characters (almost identical with our own) from the Indians. The Arabs found them already in use in Africa, and gave to them the name of Grobâr or "of the dust," because the signs were traced on tablets covered with dust.[2] The whole question, however, of the origin of our system of numeration is so beset with difficulties on every side that it may be doubted whether it will ever be cleared up.

Gerbert in Rome.

After Gerbert had spent some three years (967–970) in "hither Spain," there came the turning-point in his life. Borel, like all the great men of his day, longed for complete independence. To bring his desires one step nearer fulfilment he resolved, in the first instance, to free his principality from all ecclesiastical subjection to the kingdom of France. Decrees of Popes[3] had placed the sees of the dukedom of Barcelona under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Narbonne. He would go to Rome, then, and have Vich erected into an archbishopric. Thither accordingly he proceeded, taking with him not only Bishop Hatto, but the latter's talented pupil also. For he knew that, in a matter which would require the use not merely of intellectual ability but also of diplomatic skill, he would have a powerful support in his young protégé. But he probably did not foresee that, by bringing Gerbert into contact with the powerful forces which moved the world, his young ward would be drawn from his side, and into such a current as would ultimately carry him to the highest place in Christendom.[1] Borel accomplished his purpose,[2] but as a *quid pro quo* had to give up Gerbert. The latter's "industry and love of learning" had impressed itself upon John XIII. And because the sciences "of music and astronomy were then quite unknown throughout Italy, the Pope at once sent word to Otho, king of Germany and Italy, that a young man had arrived in Rome who was profoundly versed in mathematics, and would make a splendid teacher of them." Quite in his usual autocratic style, the emperor (Otho I.) at once bade the Pope on no account to allow the young man to leave Rome. John, however, proceeded more diplomatically (*modestissime*). The emperor, he said to Borel, wished to have Gerbert's services for a time; and he promised that, if the duke would oblige the emperor, he would himself see to it that the young monk was sent back with honour. Borel could not but assent. Accordingly, when he left Rome to return to his government, he sent Gerbert to the court of the emperor.[3] Without exaggeration could the young Gaul say of himself that he had traversed land and sea in the pursuit of knowledge.[4]

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[1] He asks a certain Lupito of Barcelona for his translation of a work on astrology (astronomy), and offers him anything he (Gerbert) has in return It is supposed that the translation was from the Arabic (ep 24).

[2] *Cf.* Olleris, p 575 f.; and *Hist Gén.*, by Rambaud and Lavisse, i. 785 n.

[3] Ep Steph VII (VI), 896, ap *P. L.*, t. 129, p 855 *Cf* ep. Joan. X. to George of Ausona and other bishops, in which he tells them he sends the pallium to their metropolitan Agius of Narbonne. An. 928, ap. Labbe, ix 576

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[1] Richer, L. iii., c. 43, supposes that God brought this journey about for the enlightenment of Gaul: "Cum Divinitas Galliam jam caligantem magno lumine relucere voluit predictis duci et episcopo mentem dedit ut Romam oraturi peterent."

[2] Jaffé, 3746–9 (2871–4).

[3] All this from Richer, *l.c.*

[4] "Ego ille multum jactatus terris et alto, dum philsophorum inventa persequor." Ep. 217.

Gerbert with Otho I., 971-972.

The young professor was a man of high ideals. He was unwilling to teach even at the court of an emperor, and with an emperor as his pupil,[1] until he was thoroughly well educated himself. Unlike so many nowadays, he knew he could not teach even science satisfactorily until he had studied logic and mental philosophy. Into these views of the requirements of a good professor Otho thoroughly entered. Hence when there came to his court[2] as ambassador of Lothaire, king of the Franks, Gerannus, the archdeacon of the Church of Rheims, who was regarded as "most skilled in logic," the emperor allowed the ardent student to place himself under this new master, and even, on his departure, to accompany him to Rheims. His sojourn of some two years with the great Otho was fraught with the most important consequences to the career of Gerbert. His grateful nature caused him never to forget the kindness of the first Otho. He attached himself irrevocably to the house of the Saxon emperors; and at length could say with truth that to three generations of the Othos, amidst trials of every sort, had he ever displayed the truest fidelity.[3]

Gerbert at Rheims, *c.* 972-982.

In the philosophic lore of Gerannus Gerbert made the most rapid strides, but when in return he instructed his professor in mathematics, the logical mind of Gerannus could not grasp the musical branch of that science, and, overcome by the difficulty of his task, he gave up its study altogether. It was not long before the fame of the distinguished scholar and teacher in his cathedral city reached the ears of Adalberon, archbishop of Rheims, the most powerful and enlightened prelate in Gaul. Engaged in reforming his diocese spiritually and intellectually, he at once perceived that in Gerbert he would have an agent well qualified to aid him at least in the latter task. He accordingly offered him the post of *scholasticus* or head of his cathedral school—a school which had much declined from its deserved reputation under Hincmar. As his patron Otho I. († May 973) and his old professor in Spain (Hatto, † August 971) were both dead, Gerbert accepted the archbishop's offer, and commenced "to instruct crowds of scholars[1] in the arts."

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[1] Otho II., who in 967 was crowned emperor at the age of twelve. Otho II. "non semel disputantem (Gerbertum) audierat." Richer, L. iii., c. 43 and c. 56.

[2] Otho was in Italy all this time. He did not leave it till the close of the summer of 972.

[3] Ep. 185; Richer, *l.c.*, cc. 44-5; ep. 187, addressed to Otho III. "Si quo enim tenui scientiæ igniculo accendimur, totum hoc gloria vestra peperit, patris virtus aluit, avi magnificentia (the generous patronage of Otho I.) comparavit."

The number of his disciples increased every day. It was noised abroad not only throughout *the Gauls*, but throughout Germany and Italy to the Adriatic and the Tyrhennian Seas[2] that there was at Rheims a master who did not think it enough to lecture on the profoundest philosophy of the ancients, but who expounded the natural sciences, and who knew how to brighten one set of studies with the graces of the poet, and enlighten the other by the use of the most wonderful instruments. Richer[3] gives us the names of some of the books used by Gerbert in instructing his pupils in grammar, dialectics, rhetoric (the so-called *trivium*), and in the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, music, astronomy, and geometry). It will be seen that Boëthius was his guide to no inconsiderable extent both in philosophy and in mathematics. The first work mentioned by the historian as used by Gerbert was the *Isagoge* of Porphyry. It was an introduction to the philosophy of Aristotle, and treated of the universals — genus, difference and species, essence and accidents. Ignorant of Greek, Gerbert used the translation of Victorinus, as corrected and commented on by Boëthius. Then he explained the *Categories* and the *Interpretation* (περὶ ἑρμηνείας) of Aristotle, and the *Topics* of Cicero, again following Boëthius.

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[1] Richer, iii. 45.

[2] *Ib.*, c. 55. "Numerus discipulorum in dies accrescebat. Nomen etiam tanti doctoris ferebatur non solum per Gallias, sed etiam per Germaniæ populos dilatabatur. Transiitque per Alpes ac diffunditur in Italiam usque Thirrenum et Adriaticum." So great became his fame as a teacher that when he went to Bobbio as its abbot, Egbert, archbishop of Trèves, wanted to send students to him even when so far away. *Cf.* ep. 13.

[3] *Ib.*, c. 46–54.

When, by the aid of these abstruse works and other commentaries of the last of Rome's philosophers, Gerbert judged that the minds of his scholars had been well trained to think, he proceeded to instruct them in the art of rhetoric, viz. in the best way of expressing their thoughts. After long hours spent on the study of space and of substance, of the reasoning faculty and of other powers of the soul, we can well understand the delight of his pupils when their beloved master with his bright, quick, and well-informed mind and his sympathetic nature unfolded to them the beauties of style and of thought which were to be found in Virgil, in Statius, and in Terence, in Juvenal, in Persius, and in Horace, and in the *Pharsalia* of Lucan. For most correctly did Gerbert judge that no man could be an orator who had not something of the imagination and language of the poet.[1] In his free use of the poets of antiquity Gerbert differed from certain of his brethren. The superiors of some of the monasteries, timid, narrow-minded, or lazy souls, afraid of shadows, or finding it easier to proscribe what they could not or would not understand, or what they were too nerveless to prevent from leading to harm, would not allow the classical poets to be studied by their subjects. The zeal for the intellectual advancement of his monks displayed by Gerbert's own superior at Aurillac, is, however, enough to convince one—were proof required—that, as might have been expected, but few of the heads of monasteries were wanting in moral courage, in intelligence, or in energy,[1] and that consequently the reading of the profane poets was anything but prohibited in all the monasteries, even of the Cluniac reformation.

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[1] "Post quorum *laborem*, cum ad rhethoricam suos provehere vellet, id sibi suspectum erat, quod sine locutionum modis, qui in poetis discendi sunt, ad oratoriam artem ante perveniri non queat." Richer, iii. c. 47.

Gerbert's method of teaching was especially characterised by his combination of the practical with the theoretical, a matter in which the Middle Ages erred as much by defect as our own age is erring by excess. Hence when his scholars had had their course of rhetoric, he employed a sophist to exercise them in the art of debate. And when he came to instruct them in the quadrivium,[2] he spared no pains to illustrate his lessons experimentally. Many of the instruments which he used he invented and made himself. Richer tells, with evident pride in his master's ability, how, by means of a monochord, he showed the difference between tones and semitones, etc., and demonstrated that the tones varied in proportion to the length and thickness of the vibrating cord. He seems also to have turned his attention to the construction of organs,[3] and even to have set to music certain hymns[1] which he himself had composed. As a result of his labours in this direction music, which had for a long time ceased to be cultivated in *the Gauls*, became very popular.

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[1] Hence the language of M. Pfister (*Robert le Pieux*, p. 5) would seem exaggerated: "Au X^e et au XI^e siècle les auteurs anciens n'ont pas eu de pires ennemis que les moines, surtout ceux qui avaient subi la réforme de Cluny." And so Luchaire (*Les premiers Capétiens*, p. 129 n.), siding with Sackur (*Die Cluniacenser*, ii. 330), points out that, as a matter of fact, the writings of the Cluniacs are impregnated with classical literature, and are even found defending the opinions of the Fathers by quotations from classical authors. Hence in the twelfth century we even find the monks of St. Bernard reproaching the Cluniacs with an excessive love of pagan literature.

[2] "In mathesi vero *quantus sudor* expensus sit, non incongruum dicere videtur." Richer, *Hist.*, iii. 48.

[3] In some of the passages of his letters *organa* seem to refer to his scientific apparatus in general.

To render the motions of the heavenly bodies less difficult of comprehension, he constructed globes and orreries. And whilst he passed the day in explaining them to his pupils, his nights he devoted to the study of the stars, making observations by means of tubes. As an aid to arithmetical calculations, he constructed an abacus on a large scale. It had twenty-seven compartments, and a thousand movable pieces made of horn.[2] To his admiring disciple Richer it seemed that there was something *divine* in the productions of his master's handiwork.

A collector of books.

To prosecute all these studies, Gerbert obviously stood in need of a good library. In dialectics alone he read and explained more of the treatises of Aristotle than any of his own predecessors; and even "the most celebrated master of the eleventh century, Abelard, knew no more in this domain than Gerbert and Fulbert"[3] of Chartres, his illustrious disciple. To gather together the books he needed was to Gerbert a constant care and a never-failing source of joy. "With my efforts to lead a good life," he wrote,[4] "I have always joined endeavours to speak well, as philosophy does not separate these two things. And although to live a good life is more important than to be a good speaker, and although to those who are free from the cares of government the one is enough without the other, still, to us who are engaged in public affairs, both powers are necessary. For it is of the highest advantage to be able by well-fashioned speech to persuade, and by sweet words to restrain angry souls from deeds of violence. Hence am I ever toiling to form a library. And as for a long time past, by means of large sums of money and the kind assistance of the friends of my native province, I have maintained copyists and bought books in Rome and in other parts of Italy, in Germany also and in *Belgica* (the kingdom of Lorraine), grant that I may now and again obtain the like from you and by you. I will give at the end of this letter a list of the books I want transcribing.[1] In accordance with your instructions I will send to the copyists parchment and the funds necessary for their expenses, and will, moreover, never be unmindful of your kindness. Not to transgress the limits of a letter, I may say that the reason of all this toil is contempt of fickle fortune; contempt which in my case is not, as with many, the result simply of natural temperament, but of long-continued study. Hence in leisure as in work I teach what I know, and learn what I do not know." As with every other man who begins to collect books, the habit of adding to "his beloved[2] volumes" never left him. "You know," he wrote[3] to a monk of Bobbio after his return to Rheims, "with what zeal I collect books from every country." Moreover, he gathered books together not only from all quarters, but on all subjects. He accumulated works on mental philosophy and on science, on rhetoric and on medicine. To the numerous works of "the father of Roman eloquence" he added the poets and historians of ancient Rome.[1] He sought for translations too,[2] and aimed at getting more correct versions of important works.[3] And in his efforts to procure books he spared neither himself, his influence, nor his money. He copied some himself,[4] others he got copied by or through his friends. To obtain a poem he offered to make a globe or sphere in exchange; in return for favours he was asked to perform, he exacted books; and to ensure receiving the works he wanted, he agreed to pay such sums as he was asked for and at the time agreed.[5] The enlightened zeal of Gerbert in the cause of studies effected a real revival of intellectual activity. What had been done under Charlemagne in the promotion of liberal studies by our countryman Alcuin, and what St. Bruno had effected in the same direction under Otho the Great for the Germans, was accomplished for the newly rising kingdom of France by Gerbert of Aquitaine. And it must be confessed that he was superior to either of those great and good men. He had no emperor at his back at this the most important period of his literary work, while the range of subjects with which he dealt was much more liberal and comprehensive, and the influence of his work was perhaps deeper than that of either Alcuin or Bruno. If John Scot can be called the father of the heretics of the Middle Ages, Gerbert may be described as the father of the schoolmen of that period.

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[1] He is said to have composed a hymn in honour of the Holy Ghost, and a prose in honour of the angels. *Cf.* Olleris, p. 568. For his musical talents, with Richer, iii. 49, compare ep. 92, and the preface to his work, *De numerorum divis.*, ap. Havet, p. 238. Legend enabled William of Malmesbury to attribute to him the construction of a sort of steam organ.

[2] Richer, *ib.*, 50–54; Thietmar, *Chron.*, vi. 61. *Cf.* Gerbert's *Regula de abaco computi*, and the *Liber abaci* of his disciple, Bernelinus; his letter (as Pope) to Constantine, abbot of St. Mesmin, on the construction of a globe; and his *Libellus de numerorum divisione*, addressed to the same. It is disputed whether Gerbert was the author of the *Geometria* which is usually assigned to his pen.

[3] Picavet, p. 72.

[4] Ep. 44, to Ebrard, abbot of S. Julian's at Tours. The letter was written about the beginning of 985, and from Rheims.

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[1] This list unfortunately has not come down to us.

[2] "Carissima nobis librorum volumina." Ep. 81.

[3] Ep. 130, *c.* September 988. *Cf.* 40 and 44.

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[1] Ep. 130. "Fac ut michi scribantur M. Manlius (Boëtius?) de astrologia, Victorius (Victorinus?) de rethorica, Demostenis Optalmicus." *Cf.* epp. 40, 134, 9, 17.

[2] Ep. 24.

[3] Ep. 7. "Plinius emendetur, Eugraphius (a commentator on Terence) recipiatur, qui (libri) Orbacis (Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons) et apud S. Basolum sunt perscribantur. Fac quod oramus," he writes in conclusion to Airard, a monk of Aurillac, "ut faciamus quod oras."

[4] Ep. 8. "Istoriam Julii Cæsaris a domno Azone abbate Dervensi (Montiérender, in the diocese of Chalons) ad rescribendum nobis adquirite." *Cf.* ep. 96.

[5] Epp. 130, 134, 116.

ric.

Success, unfortunately, besides engendering respect, provokes jealousy. While a strong light[1] illumines many objects, it throws others into shadow. And Otric of Saxony, of the palace school of Magdeburg, imagined that his fame was dimmed by the rising reputation of Gerbert. He determined to prick the Gallic bubble! Accordingly he sent one of his pupils to study under Gerbert, with the object of finding out a weak point in his teaching. The disciple was not long before he imagined he had discovered what his master was in search of. He returned to inform Otric that, in his division of the sciences, Gerbert had subordinated physics to mathematics as a species to a genus. As a matter of fact, he had declared they were on an equal footing. The supposed mistake[2] of his rival was eagerly proclaimed to Otho II. by Otric. Unwilling to believe that his old professor could be in the wrong, Otho caused a public disputation to be held between Otric and Gerbert on the occasion of a visit of the latter to Pavia when on his way to Rome with Adalberon (980). The discussion took place at Ravenna, whither the emperor and his guests went by boat, and in presence of Otho himself and a great assemblage of students (*scolastici*), who, quite in accordance with the traditional habits of their class, were not slow to manifest their approval or disapproval, as the case might be, of the conduct of the debate.

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[1] And Gerbert's was such according to the biographer of Robert the Pious: "Gerbertus pro maximo suæ sapientiæ merito, qua toto radiabat in mundo." Helgaldus, ed. Duchesne, *SS. coætanei*, iv. 63.

[2] "Ac per hoc, nihil eum philosophiæ percepisse, audacter astruebat (Otricus)." Richer, iii. 56.

The disputation was opened by Otho himself, "who was accounted most skilled in these (philosophic) pursuits." Discussion, he contended, stimulated our natural torpor to deeper reflection. And with the express object of exciting Gerbert, he introduced the question of the subdivisions of philosophy. The enthusiastic scholastic of Rheims did not require much urging. He threw himself into the dispute with all the natural ardour of his temperament. His division of theoretical philosophy was soon accepted. And then, for the greater part of the day, the stream of Gerbert's eloquence flowed on. Such questions were treated of as the relative extension of the terms "rational and mortal." When at the close of the day the emperor declared the session over, all were exhausted but the indefatigable Frenchman.[1] In unfolding this discussion at some length, a countryman of Gerbert has shown that the questions brought up in it are neither so puerile nor so unconnected as some critics have supposed; and truly notes that the habit of "dividing and subdividing," so extensively practised in the schools during the Middle Ages, has given to our minds "the habit of analysis, and to our tongues clearness and precision." Gerbert returned to Rheims loaded with presents from Otho, and with an increased reputation

Gerbert's pupils.

He was also to have that form of reputation, which of all others is most dear to a master, viz. the renown that comes from distinguished scholars. At one time or another he had pupils illustrious not only by birth and position, as Otho II., Otho III., and Robert the Pious, king of France, but by conspicuous abilities. Among the latter may be named Fulbert, the founder of the famous school of Chartres; Leutheric, the learned archbishop of Sens; Bernelius, whose treatise on the abacus was better than that of his master; John, schoolmaster and bishop of Auxerre; Richer, who dedicated his History to his old professor; and St. Heribert, chancellor of Otho III. and archbishop of Cologne.

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[1] "Cumque verbis et sententiis nimium flueret et adhuc alia dicere pararet, Augusti nutu disputationi finis injectus est, eo quod et diem pene in his totum consumserant et audientes prolixa atque continua disputatio jam fatigabat." Richer, iii. 65 The details of this disputation, which are given by Richer (*ib.*, c 55–65), are discussed by Picavet, p 143 f Gerbert's definition of philosophy was comprehensive It was "the science of things divine and human"

Gerbert, abbot of Bobbio, 983.

One result of the "Otric dispute" was that Otho conceived a still greater admiration for his illustrious master, and resolved to attach him more closely to himself. Towards the close of 982, or more probably at the beginning of 983, he named Gerbert abbot of the monastery of St. Columbanus (†615) at Bobbio. This abbey, situated among the Apennines between the rivers Trebbia and Bobbio and not far from Pavia, was among the most famous of the monasteries of Italy. From the fact that it possessed property "in every part" of the peninsula,[1] it ought also to have been one of the richest and most powerful. But though, as we shall see, it was not wealthy at the time of Gerbert's appointment, Otho no doubt made it over to one on whom he could rely, in order that, when its property was recovered, he might be able to count on the abbot of Bobbio for substantial support in men and money. He was preparing to make another attempt to carry into effect the policy of his house by making himself master of South Italy, driving out both Greeks and Saracens—a policy which had received a severe check owing to his defeat by the latter near Crotone (982).

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[1] Ep. 12. "*Quæ* pars Italiæ possessiones b. Columbani non continet"?

Obviously, to have a friend as abbot of Bobbio would be of no little service to Otho. But neither Gerbert nor his patron were destined to get from Bobbio what they had hoped.

A little pleasure, indeed, the new abbot of Bobbio did derive from his new position. It enabled him to have a hunt for and among books. There is extant a tenth-century catalogue[1] of the books then possessed by the abbey of Bobbio. It is far from unlikely that it was drawn up by Gerbert himself. But, unfortunately for his happiness, the unsatisfactory state in which he found his monastery prevented him from being much in the company of his beloved books. Even left to our own imaginations, we should have had no difficulty in conceiving the disgust felt by Gerbert, who had been accustomed to the discipline of Aurillac and of bishops Hatto and Adalberon, when he arrived at Bobbio and found neither order nor money. But we are not left to fall back upon imagination. The series of Gerbert's letters begins with his arrival at Bobbio. From them we learn that he found in his own case that "the troubles of kingdoms are the ruin of the Church,"[2] and that "the ambition of the powerful, and the miseries of the times, had turned right into wrong, and that no man kept faith with anybody."[3] His predecessor, Petroald, taking advantage of the disorders of the times, had alienated under one device or another the property of the monastery, and had, as might have been expected, suffered the greatest disorders to become rampant among the monks. Gerbert found "that the whole sanctuary of God had been sold, but that its price was not forthcoming, that the store-houses and granaries were empty, and that there was nothing in the monastic purse."[4] His monks were in want of food and clothes. The situation was unbearable. He could endure to suffer poverty himself among the Gauls, but to be a beggar with so many needy monks among the Italians was more than he could tolerate.[1] Convinced that it was his plain duty to be the faithful steward of his monastery in temporals as well as in spirituals, he at once set vigorously to work to stop the encroachments which were on all sides being attempted on such property as was still acknowledged to belong to the monastery. He showed his spirit in no doubtful language. To a certain Boso he wrote:[2] "Let us leave words and cleave to facts. The sanctuary of God I will not give for gold nor for love; nor will I consent to the alienation, if it has been given away. Restore to Blessed Columbanus the hay which your people have carried off, if you would not experience what I can effect by the favour of Cæsar and by the help of my friends." He did not hesitate to write to any one in this same fearless manner. And so to the Empress-mother Adelaide, who was then residing at Pavia and who evidently wished to have the lands of Bobbio parcelled out in accordance with her wishes, he wrote[3] that to meet the wishes of the emperor he had granted some of her requests, but could not grant them all. "How can I take away to-morrow the land which I granted to my dependents (*nostris fidelibus*) yesterday? If everything is to be done which anybody choses to order, what is my occupation here? And if I give away everything, what is left for me to hold? Even if I could, I would not grant a benefice to Grifo." Sometimes his firmness seems rather too uncompromising. To settle certain differences which had sprung up between them, Peter Canepanova, bishop of Pavia (afterwards Pope

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[1] Muratori, *Antiq Ital. medii. ævi*, iii. 898; reprinted ap. Olleris, p 489

[2] Ep. 27.

[3] Ep. 130.

[4] Ep 2, 3.

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[1] "Si cum gratia domini mei fieri posset, satius esset me solum apud Gallos egere, quam cum tot egentibus apud Italos mendicare." Ep. 3.

[2] Ep. 4.

[3] Ep. 6.

John XIV.), proposed a personal interview. He received the following answer to his request: "We owe no thanks to any Italian that we seem to possess the abbey of St. Columbanus. If you have praised me to the emperor, I have oftentimes given you not undeserved eulogies. You ask for an interview, and cease not to plunder my Church. You, who ought to bring together what has been scattered, divide my property among your soldiers as though it were your own. Harry and plunder, rouse up against me the forces of Italy. You have a rare opportunity; for my lord (Otho) is involved in war. I will not detain the armed bands which have been made ready to aid him, nor will I undertake what is his work. If I can have peace, I will devote myself to the service of Cesar, present or absent. But if not, his presence alone will console my miseries; and since, as the poet says (Virgil, *Æneid*, iv. 373), 'Good faith is nowhere to be found,' and since what has been neither seen nor heard is imagined, I will make known my wishes to you only in writing, and will only listen to yours when expressed in the same way"[1]

Gerbert's spirited efforts to restore to its ancient status the glorious old abbey which had been entrusted to him, naturally made him many enemies both secret and open.[2] They calumniated him to the emperor,[3] they turned the most innocent things which he did into evidences of crime. Because he brought some of his relations with him from France (de Frantia), they declared he had a wife and children, and said even worse things

[1] Ep. 5.

[2] "Secundum amplitudinem quippe animi mei, amplissimis me honeravit (fortuna) hostibus." Ep. 12.

[3] "Quid ora caudæque vulpium blandiuntur hic (in the imperial palace at Pavia) domino meo?" Ep. 11. "Ubi gladio ferire nequibunt, jaculis verborum appetent." Ep. 12.

of him.[1] The emperor, they said, who nominated such a man was an ass; and when Otho sent certain of his agents to effect the restoration of the property of Bobbio, they took counsel to put them to death.[2]

Gerbert's special foes were, of course, those whom he had succeeded in dispossessing of their ill-gotten goods. For, as he said, the vanquished have no shame. And during the twelve months or thereabouts that he remained at Bobbio, he succeeded, by one means or another, in rescuing some of the property which belonged to his abbey. When Otho II. came into Italy (983) to resume his campaign against the Saracens, Gerbert went to meet him at Pavia. He cleared himself of the calumnies which had been upcast against him, and explained to Otho the difficulties of his position. "Let him not be accused of treason," he urged, "who regards it as a glory to be on the side of the emperor, an ignominy to be opposed to him."[3] But though this interview resulted in something being done to ameliorate his position, his enemies still contrived to make his life unbearable. "Where am I to live?" he writes to Otho, after the latter had left Pavia and moved south. "If I return to my native land, I have to neglect the oath of fidelity I have sworn to you; and, if I do not return, I am but an exile here. Still," he concluded with a play upon the words, "it is better to be an exile in the pa*latium* (*i.e.* in the emperor's service), while true to one's oath, than, false to one's oath, to reign in *Latium* (*i.e.* in France)."[4]

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[1] "Taceo de me quem novo locutionis genere equum emissarium susurrant, uxorem et filios habentem, propter partem familiæ meæ de Frantia recollectam." Ep. 11. Picavet thinks that "equum emissarium" does not mean "cheval étalon," but contains an allusion to the "emissary goat."

[2] Epp. 11, 12. "Ipse Cæsar . . . . a furciferis asino coæquatur." Ep. 12.

[3] Ep. 1.

[4] Ep. 11. *Cf.* ep. 12, "Recordare me malle esse militem in Cæsarianis castris quam regem in extraneis."

Needless to say, his difficulties rapidly increased on the death of Otho (December 7, 983). He knew not what to do. In his distress he turned whither so many wretched souls turned for help in the Middle Ages, viz to the See of Rome, and wrote to the Pope (John XIV.), even to that Peter of Pavia to whom he had written the sharp letter we have just cited. He must have had full confidence that the former bishop of Pavia bore him no grudge. "To the most blessed Pope John, Gerbert, in name only, abbot of Bobbio Whither, O father of our country, am I to turn? If I appeal to the Apostolic See, I am laughed at. I can neither come to you on account of my enemies, nor am I free to leave Italy. And yet it is difficult to remain, since neither inside the monastery nor outside of it is there anything left me but my pastoral staff and the apostolical benediction. The Lady Imiza is my friend because she is your friend. Make known to me through her, either by messenger or by letter, what you would have me do. Through her, too, I will inform you as to what I think will interest you in the state of public affairs"[1]

Gerbert quits Bobbio, 984.

No doubt, in laughing at Gerbert for thinking of appealing to Rome at this juncture, his enemies were in the right. They knew that under the circumstances, with a child as king of Germany and the antipope Boniface VII. to cause trouble in Rome, John XIV. would be unable to afford effectual help to any one. If, however, the abbot of Bobbio had chosen for a time to change his pastoral staff for a sword, he might have maintained himself in secure possession of what was still left to his monastery, and even have recovered something of what had been lost to it. His soldiers were ready to take arms and to fortify the strong places which they held.[2] For it must not be forgotten that the abbot of Bobbio ranked as a count, and so of course had an armed force at his disposal. But Gerbert could not see that there was hope of any speedy improvement in the state of affairs, and he was a monk and student, and not a soldier.[1] "What hope is there," he wrote[2] to the abbot of his old monastery of Aurillac, "when the country is without a ruler, and when the fidelity, morality, and disposition of certain Italians is such as we know it? I yield then to fortune, and will resume my studies which, though interrupted for a time, have ever been cherished in my thoughts." As he explained later to his dear master Raimond, if he had remained at Bobbio, he would either have had in a cowardly way to submit to oppression, or to have sanctioned bloodshed. "The state of things in Italy was such that, if I had wished to shelter myself beneath my innocence, I should have had basely to endure the yoke of tyrants; or, if I had appealed to force, I should have had to seek on all sides for partisans, to fortify strong positions, and to tolerate pillage, incendiarism, and slaughter. Hence I chose rather the assured leisure of study than the uncertain chances of war."[3]

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[1] Ep. 14.

[2] "Milites mei quidem arma sumere, castra munire parati." Ep. 16.

Early then in the year 984 did Gerbert return to Rheims that he might again be near his beloved superior Adalberon, whose absence was one of the abbot's great griefs at Bobbio,[4] and that he might again have quiet leisure for his scientific pursuits. He did not, however, resign his abbatial dignity, nor cease to struggle for the recovery of its rights;[1] but he ceased to reside in his abbey. For in contending for his rights he acted on the principle that what had been given to him by the emperor and confirmed to him by the Pope[2] ought not to be abandoned without a hard struggle. In the meantime, however, as we have said, he left Italy and allowed "the blind cupidity of certain pauper nobles to have its way for a time."[3]

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[1] Besides, as we may judge from a later letter, he had no great faith in his soldiers. They were Italians, and not men. "Sine præsentia dominæ meæ Th. (Theophano) credere non ausim fidei meorum militum, quia Itali sunt." Ep. 91. Italy may produce crops, but Gaul and Germany breed soldiers. *Cf.* the preface to his *Libellus de rationali*, p. 298, ed. Oll.

[2] Ep. 16, written at the very beginning of 984.

[3] Ep. 45.

[4] Ep. 8.

His exertions for the cause of his abbey were one reason why his second sojourn at Rheims was not so tranquil as his first He was now no longer a mere professor. As confidant of Archbishop Adalberon, and as abbot of Bobbio, he had to take a part in public affairs. The duration of his second stay at Rheims, viz. some fourteen years, may be divided into two sections of more or less equal length During the first period he was engaged with Adalberon in working to secure the throne of Germany to the young Otho, and that of France to the Capetians as against the Carolings. During the second, he was at war with the Pope to maintain himself in the archbishopric of Rheims. Altogether we cannot be far wrong if we call the fourteen years from 984 to 998, and especially the second half of that period, the most agitated epoch of Gerbert's life.

He supports the interests of Otho III and Hugh Capet.

The greater number of his letters were penned during the time which elapsed between his return to Rheims (984) and his election as its archbishop (991). Written for the most part in the name of Adalberon, their contents are in the main concerned with the affairs of Lothaire (†986), Louis V. (the last Carolingian king, †987), and Hugh Capet, kings of France, and of Otho III. of Germany. They are, consequently, of more importance for the history of France and Germany[1] than for that of the Popes. As, however, they are the work of Gerbert, and show us how he was employed during seven years, they cannot be passed over entirely.

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[1] "Crebris itineribus causam patris mei Columbani pro viribus executus sum." Ep. 130. *Cf.* epp 91, 19.

[2] Ep. 159 "Dico equidem quod spoliatus amplissimis rebus imperiali dono collatis, apostolica benedictione confirmatis, nec una saltim villula ob fidem retentam vel retinendam donatus sum."

[3] Ep. 20.

Following and, where enlarging, exaggerating a statement of Widukind,[2] Freeman[3] thus presents the questions into which Gerbert and Adalberon threw themselves. "The tenth century was a period of struggle between the Teutonic and Romance languages, between Laon and Paris,[4] between the descendants of Charles the Great and the descendants of Robert the Strong," and, we may add, between the East and West Franks for the possession of Lorraine. When Adalberon and his secretary, Gerbert, entered into the struggle, it had reached an acute stage. Before they left it, the Capets had triumphed over the Carolingians, and Lorraine had become attached to the German empire. In all the intrigues into which these two great churchmen entered,

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[1] In addition to the works already cited in connection with the *Life* of Gerbert, the English reader will find an account of the politics of France and Germany at this period in Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, vol. i. *Cf.* also Lot, *Les derniers Carolingiens*, and Pfister, *Robert le Pieux*.

[2] *Res Sax.*, i. 29. "Unde usque hodie certamen est de regno Karolorum stirpi et posteris Odonis (count of Paris), concertatio quoque regibus Karolorum et orientalium Francorum super regno Lotharii."

[3] *L.c.*, p. 155. For it should be stated that more recent authors, both English and French, are agreed that Freeman goes much too far in making Hugh and Lothaire representatives of French and German nationality. "There is not a scrap of evidence to prove that the later Carolings were different in tongue, ideas, or policy from the Robertian house. There *was no real national feeling in the tenth century*, and, if there were, no proof that the one house was more national than the other." Tout, *The Empire and the Papacy*, p. 71.

[4] "Remarquons ici que Paris n'a joué aucun rôle dans les événements qui amenèrent la chute des Carolingiens." Lot, *Les derniers Carol.*, p. 391 n.

Gerbert was animated by the one thought of advancing the interests of the Othos, and Adalberon by a deep-seated wish for the peace and prosperity of the land, as well as for the advancement of the empire This led the powerful archbishop to favour the aspirations of Hugh Capet, duke of France, though his nominal sovereigns were the Carolingians Lothaire and Louis V., and though he was chancellor of the kingdom of the Franks. Just as in the eighth century the Frankish nobles found that it was necessary for the preservation of order to replace the effete Merovingian line by the vigorous Carolingians, Adalberon saw that there was no hope of peace unless Hugh, who was king in fact,[1] should become king in name as well. The last Carolingians were not so helpless as the *fainéant* race to which Pippin put an end But, heirs to a woefully diminished inheritance, they were crushed out by the descendants of Robert the Strong, whose fief had grown into the practically independent *Duchy of France*, and whose successor, Hugh Capet, especially when aided by the Normans, was more than a match for his king in military power, and was destined to convert his duchy into a kingdom.

Gerbert does not forget Bobbio.

On his return to Rheims Gerbert did not indeed cease to teach, "to offer from time to time to most noble pupils the sweet fruit of liberal studies,"[2] nor to collect books,[3] whether profane or liturgical, or whether bound simply or in gold.[4] And he was the more anxious, as he said, to form a good library that, engaged in public affairs, he had not only to live well, but to speak well, and books were essential to the proper performance of the latter duty.[1] Nor did he forget his abbey of Bobbio. Those monks who remained faithful to him he encouraged, those who submitted to his enemies, "to the tyrants," he reproved. "You who have professed the rule of St. Benedict, and, by deserting your abbot, have abandoned it, you (I speak not of you all), you who have of your own accord bent your necks to the yoke of the tyrants, will you be willing, under the leadership of these your tyrants, to appear before the tribunal of Christ? This I write, not for the sake of keeping my dignity; but, whilst with true pastoral solicitude I say what I ought, I at once free my own conscience from blame, and bind those who give not heed to me. Recall to your minds the privileges which have been granted by the Popes. Bring back to your memories those very anathemas[2] which you (once) showed me yourselves. Grasp the import of the sacred canons: 'He who shall in any way communicate with those who have been excommunicated, let him be excommunicated himself.'[3] See in what peril you stand. May the Supreme Judge enable you to realise His commands, and at the same time put them in practice."[4] Moreover, he never ceased labouring to win back for his abbey its rights and its privileges. "From the time that I went forth from amongst you, I have never ceased to go about and toil for the interests of St. Columbanus."[1] He appealed to the influential for their support; to empress and to Pope for justice.[2] But at the time his labour was, to a large extent, lost. "The ambition of kings, the terrible condition of the times, turned right into wrong."[3] However, he lived long enough to be able to secure justice for the abbey he loved so well. When he became archbishop of Ravenna, he obtained through Otho III. the restoration of much of its property; and when he became Pope he placed at the head of it Petroald, who, under the good influence of Gerbert, reformed his character, and became worthy to rule the abbey he had once plundered.[4]

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[1] "Lotharius rex Franciæ prælatus est solo nomine, Hugo vero non nomine sed actu et opere" Ep. 48

[2] Ep. 92

[3] Epp. 24, 25, 44, 72, 96, 105, 123, 130, 134. Ep. 116 shows him paying by instalments of two silver denarii (six francs) for the copying of a MS.

[4] Ep 108 "Sacramentalis (=sacramentarium?) auro decentissime insigniti."

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[1] Ep. 44. "At nobis in re publica occupatis utraque necessaria (bene vivere et bene dicere). Nam et apposite dicere ad persuadendum et animos furentium suavi oratione ab impetu retinere, summa utilitas. Cui rei præparendæ, bibliothecam assidue comparo."

[2] The papal bulls which granted their privileges to the abbots of Bobbio were preserved in the monastery, and they were, of course, terminated with the usual sentence of anathema on such as ventured to interfere with them. *Cf. Hist. pat. Monument.*, i. 6–8. Note of Havet, p. 15.

[3] *Cf.* the Canons of the Apostles, n. 11, ap. *P. L.*, t. 67, p. 142.

[4] Ep. 18. *Cf.* epp. 19, 82 for letters of encouragement to the faithful section of the community. In ep. 83 he pleads for the interest of Hugo, marquis of Tuscany.

He works 1. for monastic discipline, 986-988.

Besides attending to business in which he was himself more immediately concerned, Gerbert found time to interest himself in affairs of public interest in both Church and State. He showed himself very much distressed when he heard that Oilbold, or perhaps rather a nameless would-be successor to Oilbold, had been uncanonically elected to the great abbey of Fleury-on-the-Loire. His was a nature that waxed hot at the sight of the perpetration of high-handed acts of injustice. He conceived that he was himself called upon to strive for their redress In the present instance, indeed, he had a special reason for feeling personally aggrieved. He was himself a Benedictine abbot, and one of his particular friends, the learned monk

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[1] Ep. 130 [2] Epp 20–23. [3] Ep. 130.

[4] *Cf.* the diplomas cited by Havet, pp. xxix, xxxii On the former page documents are quoted which show that, as archbishop of Ravenna, Gerbert endeavoured to check the abuse of granting Church property for long leases at a nominal rent. He caused it to be decreed by a council and by the emperor that such leases should terminate at the death of the bishop or abbot who granted them.

Constantine,[1] was an inmate of the abbey, and was chafing under the usurper. Moreover, the monastery of Fleury, through its possession of at least the larger portion of the relics of St. Benedict, was one of the most important houses of the whole Benedictine order. Disorder in it cut Gerbert to the quick. He called upon Maïeul, abbot of the great reforming monastery of Cluny, and, as Gerbert himself called him, a most shining[2] star, to step in and root out the scandal. "If you keep silence, who will speak out? If this offence be allowed to pass, what wicked man will not be encouraged to do the like? It is zeal for the love of God which moves me to speak, so that if your examination of the case should show him (Oïlbold) to be innocent, he may be duly acknowledged as abbot, but that, if he be proved guilty, he may be cut off from communion with all the abbots and from the whole order."[3] But the character of Maïeul was the very opposite to that of Gerbert. He was retiring and prudent. We have seen him refuse the Papacy; and in the present instance he declined to interfere. The usurper ought, indeed, to be condemned, declared Maïeul, but it was not for him to pass that condemnation. More harm than good, he thought, would result if he were excommunicated.[4] Such a careful course of action, we may well believe, did not suit the temperament of Gerbert. In the name of Archbishop Adalberon, he endeavoured to inflame the placid abbot. "The holy fathers," he wrote,[5] "resisted heresies, and, when they heard of scandals anywhere, did not think that they were no concern of theirs. For the Catholic Church is one spread throughout the whole earth. You say, or rather the Holy Ghost says through you: 'There will be no true Christian who will not detest this ambitious piece of audacity.' Detest then this usurper. Let him feel that you have no sympathy with him, that you do not communicate with him, and that through you not only is he cut off from all the religious of your order, but that, if it can be managed, he will be condemned by the censures of the Roman pontiff." But Gerbert was not content with denouncing the usurper to Maïeul, he stirred up against him Ebrard, abbot of St. Julian of Tours,[1] and the abbots of Rheims. In the name of the latter he wrote[2] to Fleury to encourage the resistance of those monks who were indignant at the intrusion of an abbot over them by the secular arm. He informed them of the adverse decision passed on Oïlbold by those two shining lights of the Church, Maïeul and Ebrard. "Separate yourselves, sheep of Christ, from one who is not a shepherd but a wolf who ravages the fold. Let him rely on kings and dukes, princes of this world, by whose favour alone he has made himself a ruler of monks." Though Gerbert did not succeed in his efforts to have the intruder ousted—for it was only by death that, "to the salvation of many,"[3] the intruder ceased to be abbot—one cannot but admire the zeal for justice and for the good of religion with which this episode shows Gerbert to have been inspired. At this period of his life he was ready to root up cockle even if corn was torn up along with it. It was nothing to him if he precipitated the fall of the heavens, if he could himself bring about the triumph of justice.

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[1] "Est (Constantinus) ænim nobilis scolasticus, adprime eruditus, michique in amicicia conjunctissimus." Ep. 92.

[2] "Lucidissima stella." Ep. 95.

[3] Ep. 69. *Cf.* epp. 80, 86–88, 92, 95, 142–3.

[4] Ep. 86.

[5] Ep. 87, an. 986. "Restiterunt sancti patres heresibus nec putaverunt ad se non pertinere, quicquid alicubi male gestum audire. Una est quippe æclesia catholica, toto terrarum orbe diffusa."

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[1] Ep. 88, an. 986.

[2] Ep. 95, an. 986.

[3] Ep. 142; *cf.* 143, an. 988.

ii. for Otho III. and Hugh Capet.

But, as we have already said, Gerbert's chief occupation during his second prolonged stay at Rheims was in the domain of politics. From being the pupil[1] of Adalberon in the science and art of diplomacy, he became his adviser. In the letters which he wrote in the name of the archbishop, it is he himself as much as Adalberon who speaks in them. And though it was his patron and not he himself who put the crown on the head of Hugh Capet and on that of his son, and thus put an end to the dynasty of the Carolings, it was Gerbert whom men called the king-maker.[2]

Otho II. had not been long dead before his youthful son was taken out of his mother's control by Henry of Bavaria, cousin to Otho II.,[3] who had been as unfaithful to the father as he now showed himself to his son. Under the name of tutor he would be king.[4] But with all his military power he was no match for the unarmed monk who presided over the schools at Rheims. The favours which the latter had received from Otho I. and his son[5] had won for their house his grateful love. As he had been faithful to the first two Othos,[6] he would be true to the third Otho, for he regarded them as one.[7] Hence, of course, was he devoted to Adelaide,[8] the grandmother, and to Theophano,[9] the mother of the little Otho. But Gerbert was attached to the house of the Othos not merely by personal bonds. He cleaved to it because, like all the great churchmen and thinkers of the Middle Ages, he was an ardent upholder of the idea of one Church and one Empire.[1]

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[1] And so we see him, when abbot of Bobbio, carrying out political commissions for Adalberon. *Cf.* ep. 8.

[2] Ep. 163.

[3] Thietmar, *Chron.*, iii. 16; Richer, *Hist.*, iii. 97.

[4] Ep. 22.

[5] "Nos quidem pietas, et multa circa nos Ottonum beneficia, filio Cæsaris adversari non sinunt." Ep. 27.

[6] Ep. 1. "Non dicatur majestatis reus, cui pro Cæsare stare semper fuit gloria, contra Cæsarem ignominia."

[7] "Quippe cum in tribus unum quiddam quodammodo intellexerim." Ep. 159. "Cæsarem in filio superesse putavimus." Ep. 34. *Cf.* ep. 158.

[8] Ep. 20.

[9] "Nulli mortalium aliquando jusjurandum præbui, nisi divæ memoriæ O. (Otho II.) Cesari. Id ad dominam meam Th. (Theophano) ac filium ejus O. (Otho III.) augustum permanasse ratus sum." Ep. 159. *Cf.* ep. 37.

And so, when the heir of the Othos and of the empire was in danger, Gerbert could not rest till he had striven to remove it. The like activity in the same direction was displayed by Adalberon.[2] Modern historians have wondered what made the archbishop so keen a supporter of the little Otho. We may be allowed to assert that, next to his general policy of working for the advancement of the empire,[3] the principal reason was the influence of his secretary over him. At any rate, whatever was the reason, Adalberon worked as hard for the interests of Otho III. as did Gerbert. The first step taken by the energetic archbishop and his at least equally energetic secretary was to secure the adhesion of "our kings"[4] (Lothaire and his son Louis) to the cause of Otho. This they were the more successful in accomplishing, seeing that Lothaire hoped to obtain for himself the guardianship of the young king, and by that means to possess himself of Lorraine[5] But they were not content with working merely in France for the interests of

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[1] "Cum inter humanas res nichil dulcius vestro aspiciamus imperio, sollicitis pro vobis nichil dulcius significare potuistis, quam vestri imperii summam gloriam." Ep. 183 to Otho III.

[2] Ep 35. *Cf.* 37.

[3] In this connection we will translate an apposite remark of Lot (*Les derniers Carol*, p. 239) · "At the close of the tenth century, the bishops and some few learned clerics, the only ones who had any political capacity, did not see in the domination of the Othos a German empire, but the continuation pure and simple of the Christian Roman empire founded by Constantine"

[4] Ep. 27. "Reges nostros ad auxilium ejus (Otho III) promovimus." *Cf* epp. 30, 37, 22.

[5] The country between the Meuse, the Vosges, the Rhine, and the sea

Otho. Their agents penetrated into all parts of Lorraine and Germany, bearing letters in which the partisans of the child-king were encouraged, his enemies attacked, and the loyalty of waverers strengthened. Egbert, archbishop of Trèves (Trier), is exhorted to stand firm, and not to forget the benefits he had received from the Othos;[1] Willigis of Mayence, with "whom a very great number of the Westerns (Lorrainers) were associated,"[2] is reminded that much would have to be done by all of them before the blessings of peace could be secured;[3] and, in the person of Charles, duke of Lorraine, a scathing letter was addressed to Diedric (Thierry), bishop of Metz. He was told that he had not sense enough to see that he had scarcely a single ally in his treason; but that, on the contrary, so far was Charles from standing alone (as in his nocturnal cups the bishop had contended), that with him were the nobles of Gaul, the kings of the Franks, and his faithful Lorrainers. All these were devoted to Otho; whereas the bishop was but like the snail which in its shell mistook itself for a butting-bull. He was, in fine, denounced as a man who had heaped up mountains of gold at the expense of the widow and the orphan.[4] In a word, Gerbert could safely declare that the great number of partisans he had secured for Otho and his mother was a matter of notoriety throughout all Gaul.[5]

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[1] Ep. 26. [2] Thietmar, *Chron.*, iv. 2. [3] Ep. 27. *Cf.* 34.

[4] Ep. 32. *Cf.* ep. 33 where, writing to Diedric in his own name (Gerbert, a loyal servant of Cesar), he excuses himself for the language of his previous letter by saying that his words had really not been as strong as the passion of Charles had wished them to be.

[5] Ep. 37. Kurth, *Notger de Liège*, p. 71 (Paris, 1905), very much to the point, writes: "It ought not to astonish anyone to see Gerbert devote himself to this cause with a zeal which will drive him later to combat his own king, when he found him endeavouring to use the situation for his own ends. At this period the empire had not yet lost in the eyes of men that character of internationality which was part of its very essence. It was a matter of concern to the world; and the emperor, like the Pope, was at home in every country. What was

The energy of Gerbert was soon rewarded. Not much more than six months had elapsed from the death of Otho II. when Henry (or Hezilo, as he is sometimes called) of Bavaria had to give up the child-king into the hands of his mother (June 29, 984) But the ambition of the Bavarian duke was not dead. It reasserted itself immediately, and its new plans placed Adalberon and Gerbert in a very awkward position. Henry secured the promise of the support of their king, Lothaire, by offering him Lorraine. Now Adalberon was chancellor of the kingdom of the Franks, Lothaire was his liege lord. However, he had thrown in his lot with Otho, and by Otho he resolved to stand. It is needless to say that he endeavoured as far as he could to conceal his designs from his sovereign,[1] and that that effort must have involved him in much scheming. He had both to support Lothaire by his troops, and Otho by his advice and secret service, and must have felt all along that he was doomed to be discovered in the end.

The political work of the archbishop and that of his indefatigable secretary had to be done all over again. And Gerbert, full of loyalty[2] to the young Otho, and in

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new to the tenth century was *nationality*, that kind of patriotism which ends with the frontiers of a kingdom, and not with the boundaries of civilisation Hence men like Gerbert and Adalberon himself, who owed so much to the emperors, could regard themselves as bound to them by a bond more sacred than that which attached them to the king of France"

[1] Not unnaturally many authors, especially French—*e.g* Lot, *Les derniers Carol*, p 242—are rather severe in the judgments they pass on the character of Adalberon They urge that he betrayed his benefactors and his liege lords. Mr. Allen (p. 647) would, however, modify the harshness of their conclusions. "If he betrayed his king it was to preserve his country; if there was a fault, it lay in preferring his country to his lord, his country's safety to the preservation of a dynasty"

[2] "Ego quidem cui ob beneficia Ottonis *multa est fides* circa herilem filium . . ." Ep. 39

touch with all that was going forward,[1] was prepared to do it. Again his letters were sent in all directions to arouse the zeal of Otho's friends. "Are you keeping watch, O father of your country, you who were once so well known for your zeal in Otho's cause," he wrote[2] to Notger, bishop of Liège, "or does blind fortune and ignorance of the state of affairs make you drowsy? He is being deserted to whom, on account of his father's services, you have promised fidelity. . . . Already the kings of the Franks are secretly drawing near to Alt-Breisach on the Rhine, where Henry, who has been declared a public enemy, is to meet them on the first of February. Take counsel, my father, and in every way you can prevent them from coming to any agreement adverse to your lord." Although, as Gerbert said, the dangers of the times prevented plain writing, it seems clear from his letters that he and Adalberon very soon began to stir up the powerful Hugh Capet, duke of France, against Lothaire.[3] And great need was there that they should try every resource if they were to succeed, as Lothaire's cause in Lorraine was prospering. "Make no treaty with the Franks, hold aloof from their kings (Lothaire and Louis V.)," [4] was the word that Gerbert poured into the ears of the Lorrainers. He obtained leave to visit the prisoners whom the Frankish monarch had taken, and utilised his opportunity by encouraging them and their relations to resist to the last.[5]

Hugh Capet, king, 987.

These doings of Gerbert and his communications with the Empress Theophano[6] could not all escape the knowledge of Lothaire. The archbishop and his secretary began to be seriously suspected[1] by the Frankish monarch. Adalberon found it necessary to send a letter to the king professing loyalty to him. "You know," he wrote[2] to the king, "that it is my wish ever to have regard for your interests and the fidelity I owe to you, and, saving my duty to God, ever to obey you." However, despite the suspicions of Lothaire, the exertions of Gerbert and his master were again crowned with success. About the end of June 985, Henry of Bavaria finally submitted to Theophano at Frankfort.[3] But it was only the death of Lothaire[4] (March 2, 986), and the influence over his successor, Louis V., exerted by his mother Emma, who was well disposed towards Adalberon, that saved the archbishop and his adviser from being crushed beneath the weight of their own successful enterprises. As half-sister of Otho II. it was not unnatural that Emma should regard her nephew, Otho III., with a favourable eye. His friends were her friends. Adalberon became her adviser,[5] and Gerbert her secretary. But suspicion of the archbishop was stronger in the son than in the father. Louis threw off the tutelage of his mother,[6] and denounced Adalberon, with no little justice, "as of all men on earth the most guilty of favouring in everything Otho, the enemy of the Franks."[7] Not content with words, Louis made an armed attempt, which failed, to obtain possession of Rheims.[8] Then, to embarrass the archbishop as much as possible, he ordered him to demolish certain fortified places which belonged to the archdiocese but which, being held under the empire, were not included, like the other lands of the archbishopric, in the kingdom of France. In fine, Adalberon was ordered to appear before an assembly of the Franks to clear himself of the charges made against him. The archbishop, now thoroughly alarmed, dispatched the faithful Gerbert to Nimeguen to implore the aid of Theophano and her son.[1] Again, however, death solved Adalberon's difficulties. Louis V., the last representative sovereign of the Carolingian line, died *c.* May 21, 987; and the assembly of the Franks which, had Louis lived, might have condemned the great archbishop, not only acquitted him, but, guided by him, declared Hugh Capet their king, and on July 3, 987, the first monarch of the Capetian line was crowned, probably[2] at Noyon. His coronation did not bring much increase of power to Hugh. Though the ancestor of all the kings who have ruled in France, he was practically only its first noble, and owed his crown, in some degree, to his own feudal power and to the support of the Normans, but chiefly to the exiled abbot of Bobbio.[3]

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[1] "Novimus Henrici alta consilia." Ep. 39. [2] *Ib.* *Cf.* 42, 43, 49.

[3] *Cf.* ep. 41, written at the end of 984. "Tempora periculosa libertatem tulerunt dicendi quæ velis dilucide." *Cf.* epp. 48, 51, and 58, in which last letter we read that a report that Hugh Capet was collecting troops had the effect of promptly breaking up an assembly of the Franks at Compiègne.

[4] Ep. 50. [5] Epp. 51, 2. [6] Epp. 52, 59.

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[1] Ep. 52.

[2] Ep. 53, ap. 985. *Cf.* 57.

[3] Thietmar., *Chron.*, iv. 6.

[4] Gerbert wrote his epitaph; and a very ordinary one it was. Ap. Havet, p. 70. Written in four verses, it was to this effect: "Oh! Cesar Lothaire, who once was clad in purple, on the second day of blustering March (*terrifici Martis*) beside thy tomb in monumental grief stood thy nobles and every good man who honoured thee."

[5] *Cf.* ep. 73. "Is quem caruisse regali gratia putastis, a nulla familiaritate seclusus est."

[6] *Cf.* ep. 97.

[7] Richer, *Hist.*, iv. 2.

[8] Ep. 89.

Charles of Lorraine.

Hugh, moreover, had a rival. This was Charles, duke of Lorraine, brother of the king (Lothaire) whose son Hugh had succeeded. He grounded his claim to the throne on his more direct descent from Charlemagne. To render his position more secure, the new king associated his son, Robert, with him in the crown (December 25, 987), and employed Gerbert as his secretary. Hugh straightway employed the ready pen of his able and trusted servant as one of the most powerful means at his disposal for strengthening his newly acquired dignity. His supporters had to be encouraged, while those whose loyalty to him was doubtful had to be roused. Among these latter was Siguinus, archbishop of Sens (977–999), who at first refrained from acknowledging the new king in any way. "As we are unwilling," wrote[1] the diplomatic secretary in his master's name, "to abuse the royal power even to the smallest extent, we regulate the affairs of the state after consultation with our trusty councillors, and in accordance with their views. Now we regard you as one of the very chief among our advisers. And so we admonish you, in all honour and affection, for the peace and concord of God's Church and of all Christian people, to take before the first of November (987) that oath of fidelity which the others have already taken to us. But if, what indeed we do not expect, led away by certain wicked men, you take no heed to what is your obvious duty, know that you will have to endure the harsher sentence of the Lord Pope (John XV) and the bishops of your province, and that our clemency, known as it is to all, will have to give place to the justice of the king."

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[1] Ep. 89, but *cf.* 100, 101.

[2] On the date and place of the coronation, *cf.* Lot, *Les derniers Carol.*, 410.

[3] Ep. 163. What M. Edme Champion says of the success of Hugh Capet may be taken as descriptive of most of the triumphs in Western Europe at this period: "La victoire de Hugues Capet . . . . ne fut elle-même qu'un incident insignifiant, la victoire d'une famille, non celle d'une race ni d'un principe," *Philosophie de l'Histoire de France*, Paris, 1882. Those historians who see in all the struggles of the early Middle Ages in Rome and elsewhere conflicts between races and great ideas are, it must be said once more, introducing into that period political views which have only a solid basis when the nations began in some degree to know themselves as such.

With a view to still further consolidating his position, and undeterred by the failure to which such negotiations were generally doomed, Hugh endeavoured to effect a matrimonial alliance between the Eastern Empire and his own family. Gerbert accordingly drew up a letter to

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[1] Ep. 107

Basil II. and Constantine VIII., brothers of Theophano, and "orthodox emperors." "The nobility of your birth and the fame of your great deeds impels us to seek your friendship. For we are convinced that there is nothing more valuable than your goodwill. In striving for your friendship and alliance, we are aiming neither at your kingdom nor at your wealth. But this alliance would make all our rights yours. And, if it please you to accept it, our union would be productive of great advantage, and would lead to important results. No Gauls nor Germans[1] could harass the frontiers of the Roman Empire were we in opposition to them. To give lasting effect to these ideas, we are supremely anxious to procure for our royal[2] and only son an imperial bride. For, owing to blood relationship, we cannot wed him to any of the neighbouring royal houses. If this request find favour in your most serene ears, pray let us know it either by letter or by trusty messenger."[3] Even if this diplomatic epistle, written in the first quarter of the year 988, was ever dispatched, it led to nothing; and before April 988 Robert was the husband of Susanna, the widow of Arnulf II., count of Flanders.[4]

Gerbert's efforts to induce Hugh to march to the help of his old friend Count Borel against the Saracens also came to nothing. Hugh, indeed, expressed his willingness[5] to aid the count of the Spanish March, and made his intention an excuse for having his son Robert crowned king (December 25, 987). He was, however, prevented from carrying out his praiseworthy intentions by the disconcerting movements of Charles of Lorraine. By treachery that prince obtained possession in the early summer (988) of the royal and strong city of Laon, the [1] capital of Hugh's kingdom; and, as some will have it, with a view to making a diplomatic capture of parallel importance, he invited Gerbert to a conference. To this invitation the latter replied [2] that he would go if the duke would send him trustworthy guides to escort him in safety through the roving companies of his troops. Meanwhile, he exhorted him to treat with the utmost clemency the two important prisoners he had taken, viz. Adalberon or Ascelin, bishop of Laon, and Emma, the widow of King Lothaire. This exhortation was the more necessary seeing that Charles had anything but good feeling towards Emma, as he regarded her as the cause of his loss of influence with his brother, Emma's late husband. Finally, Gerbert advised the duke not to confine himself within the walls of a town. But even if, by writing in this strain, he had hoped to retain a friend in the opposite camp, it cannot be supposed, in view of the determined [3] opposition against Charles of his friend and patron, Adalberon of Rheims, that Gerbert had any intention of giving active support to Charles. Both the archbishop and his trusted friend shared with Hugh in the difficulties and dangers of the siege of Laon, which was soon begun by him. Gerbert contracted a fever,[4] and Adalberon likely enough the germs of his mortal sickness during the course of the two fruitless sieges [5] of the stronghold of Laon undertaken by Hugh in the course of the year 988. The death of the great metropolitan of Rheims in the beginning of the following year (January 23, 989), if it freed him from the fraud and deceit of those in the midst of whom he lived,[1] was a serious loss to Hugh and the beginning of great trouble to Gerbert.

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[1] No doubt the subjects of Otho III., king of Germany, Lorraine, and Italy, are here referred to.

[2] Robert had been crowned king, Christmas 987.

[3] Ep. 111.

[4] Lot., *Les dern. Caroling.*, p. 219.

[5] Ep. 112.

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[1] "Laudunum, ubi ex antiquo regia esse sedes dinoscitur." Richer, iii. 2.

[2] Ep. 115.

[3] Ep. 122.

[4] Ep. 123. *Cf.* epp. 127, 162.

[5] Ep. 135.

e death
Adal-
ron, 989.

The demise of Adalberon was a serious blow to his secretary. Gerbert both loved and leaned upon him. He was his dear father for whom he felt the most tender affection; the two had but one heart and one soul,[2] and the stronger character of Adalberon was Gerbert's support. The thought that he was now the sole exponent of their joint views, and that, without the archbishop's powerful will, he had alone to face Adalberon's enemies, made him tremble that he had survived his patron.[3] He was, however, buoyed up with the hope of succeeding to his friend's position. During the last year of his life, Adalberon had shown himself anxious to procure a bishopric for Gerbert;[4] and when he felt the hand of death upon him, he made it known that he wished to have his secretary as his successor, and gained over to his views the clergy and a considerable number of the influential laity.[5] But, unfortunately, as well for Gerbert as for the French kings, the dying wishes of Adalberon were not respected.

nulf,
chbishop
Rheims.

At any rate, his death was the signal for the commencement of intrigues of all kinds of which Gerbert was the centre. More than ever was he in the midst of plot and counterplot.[6] There were various candidates for the See of Rheims;[7] but the one favoured by Hugh was not the trusted friend of Adalberon. Nominally, the right of election lay with clergy and people, but the will of the king practically settled the question; and Hugh was resolved that the new archbishop should be Arnulf, the natural son of King Lothaire and nephew of Charles of Lorraine. This resolve was taken by the French king—despite the contrary advice of the wise—in the fond hope of dividing the last descendants of Charlemagne among themselves, by thus attaching one of their number to himself. At the same time, to soothe the feelings of the outraged Gerbert, the ungrateful monarch caused various splendid offers to be made to him.[1] In a word, he promised him everything except what he wanted, viz. the archbishopric of Rheims. Hence, though Gerbert, giving up all his studies and rousing his friends,[2] threw himself with vigour into the contest, Arnulf was duly elected—"by fraud," declared his opponent;[3] "without guile," ran his decree of election.[4]

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[1] Ep. 129. "Mores, studia, dolos, fraudes eorum inter quos habito scitis," he wrote to his brother.

[2] "Quippe cum esset nobis cor unum et anima una." Ep. 163. *Cf.* ep. 150.

[3] Ep. 163. *Cf.* 152.

[4] Epp. 117–8.

[5] Ep. 152. "Taceo de me . . . . et quod pater A(dalberon) me successorem sibi designaverat, cum tocius cleri, et omnium episcoporum, ac quorundam militum favore."

[6] "Ego quidem factionum, conspirationum, juris consulti, ac consulentium conscius." Ep. 164.

[7] Ep. 150. "Qui sedem Remorum ambiunt."

Gerbert takes part with Charles.

But with the termination of election strife the difficulties of the defeated candidate were far from over. In fact, with the election of Arnulf his troubles were only beginning. The new archbishop retained him as his secretary; and so, no doubt, he soon became cognisant of his treasonable intercourse with Charles of Lorraine. It became necessary for him to take his stand. Was he to avenge the ingratitude which Hugh had displayed towards him by aiding the designs of Duke Charles, or was he to remain true to the new dynasty he had placed upon the throne of France? The course he followed would naturally lead to the supposition that he wished for revenge, but some of his words would seem to show that he acted not from inclination but from fear. He tells us that, cast into the midst of the greatest dangers,[1] he desired to play the man, and failed;[2] and hence, following a favourite maxim of his, derived from Terence,[3] as he could not do as he wished, he resolved to make his wishes commensurate with his possibilities. He accordingly threw in his lot with Arnulf and Charles, denounced Hugh and his son as mere regal stop-gaps (*interreges*), and by letters[4] endeavoured to form a party for Charles among the adherents of the new dynasty. For, in the meanwhile, through the treachery of Arnulf, Rheims had fallen (*c.* August 989) into the hands of the duke of Lorraine, and Gerbert had passed under the control of the power of the party opposed to the one which he had himself elevated.

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[1] Ep. 150.

[2] Ep. 152.

[3] "Ille (Arnulfus) eam (the see) vobis dolo et fraude abstulit." Ep. 181. In his speech at the council of Mouzon, when speaking of Adalberon, Gerbert said: "Ab eodem ignorans ad sacerdotium præelectus sum, atque in ejus discessu ad Dominum, coram illustribus viris futurus pastor ecclesiæ designatus. Sed simoniaca hæresis in petri soliditate me stantem inveniens repulit, Arnulfum prætulit." Ap. Olleris, p. 246. But see ep. 217.

[4] Ep. 155. "Sint procul ab electione nostra dolus et fraus." This decree was drawn up by Gerbert himself.

But, during the months he was unfaithful to Hugh and his son, he was not at peace with himself. Men, he wrote, might account him happy, but in fact he felt most miserable.[5] He regarded himself as the prime conspirator. Not for long, however, could he endure the upbraidings of his conscience. He was soon heartsick of being "the organ of the devil, and of advocating the cause of falsehood against truth"[1] The promptings of his conscience, too, were powerfully aided by the arguments of Bruno,[2] bishop of Langres, who, though a near relative of Duke Charles and of Arnulf, remained true to the oath of fidelity he had sworn to the two kings.

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[1] Epp. 152, 163.

[2] Ep. 151. "Si de meo statu queris . . . . liceat respondere, me positum in adversis, virum fortem sequi, non consequi."

[3] *Andria*, II. i. 5–6. "Quoniam non potest id fieri quod vis, Id velis quod possit." Ep. 173.

[4] Epp. 164–5.

[5] "Quibus (curis) post urbis nostræ proditionem sic implicamur, ut ante oculos hominum felices, nostro juditio habeamur infelices. Quæ mundi sunt, querimus, invenimus, perficimus, et, ut ita dicam, principes scelerum facti sumus." Ep. 167. *Cf.* 172.

Gerbert returns to the allegiance of Hugh Capet.

Thus, urged by his friends and by his own sense of duty Gerbert contrived to elude the vigilance of Charles, and so, after a defection of a few months, could write to Egbert of Trier (Trèves): "I am now again in the king's court, meditating on the words of life with the priests of God";[3] and to Arnulf: "I have changed my country and my sovereign . . . . for when our faith is pledged to one man, we owe nothing to another."[4]

Hugh received Gerbert with open arms, restored him completely to his good graces, and at once began again to employ his ready pen in his service. A provincial council was assembled at Senlis,[5] and its decree of anathema against those who had betrayed Laon and Rheims, against their aiders and abettors, and against those who, under the pretext of purchase, had appropriated the property of others, was drawn up by Gerbert. In the last-named clause of the anathema especially may be seen the hand of Gerbert, as Arnulf had, immediately on his flight, bestowed his property on his enemies—his "houses which, with great trouble and expense, he had built himself, and the churches which he had acquired by lawful and solemn donation, according to the custom of the province."[6] He was also the author of a strong letter to Pope John XV., calling upon him to take action against Arnulf.[7]

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[1] Ep 172. [2] Ep. 171. [3] Ep. 172.

[4] Ep. 178. "Libellus repudii."

[5] Epp. 176, 177, and the acts of the Council of Verzy, n. 14 f., ed. Olleris

[6] Ep. 178

[7] Olleris, p 202. The letter was written about August 990.

He becomes archbishop of Rheims, 991.

We have already seen[1] that as the appeal to Rome did not answer the expectations of Hugh and Gerbert, a provincial council was assembled in the monastery of St. Basle at Verzy, near Rheims (June 991). At this synod Arnulf was degraded, and Gerbert probably elected to fill his place. The decree of election, which, strange to say, does not mention the treason of Arnulf, insinuates only that he had been elected irregularly, as the bishops had yielded to the clamours of a body of clergy and people who had been corrupted "by hope of gain." But now, "with the goodwill and co-operation" of the kings Hugh and Robert, and with the consent of those of the clergy and people who fear God, the bishops of the diocese of Rheims elect as their archbishop "the Abbot Gerbert, a man of mature years, and in character prudent, docile, affable, and merciful. Nor do we prefer to him inconstant youth, vaulting ambition, and rash administration (Arnulf). . . . Hence we elect Gerbert, whose life and character we have known from his youth upwards, and whose knowledge in the things both of God and man we have experienced."[2] Nothing could bring out in stronger light the utter irregularity of the deposition of Arnulf than this very decree of Gerbert's election. It shows plainly that the former was validly elected, and was deposed for no canonical fault. It is quite enough of itself to brand Gerbert's election as a usurpation.

His profession of faith as archbishop-elect has also come down to us. Those of its articles which do not consist of a paraphrase of the Apostles' Creed are thought to have been directed against the heresy of the Cathari or Puritans, later known as the Albigensians, who at this period were spreading their doctrines through various parts of France. Among other tenets they held that there was an essentially evil principle who was the author of the Old Testament. They also condemned marriage and the use of animal food. Hence we find Gerbert professing that God was the one author both of the Old and the New Testament; that the devil was not evil by his very essence, but had become so by his own will; and that he did not prohibit marriage or second marriage nor the use of flesh meat He confessed that no one could be saved outside the Catholic Church, and concluded by accepting "the six holy synods which our universal mother the Church accepts."[1]

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[1] *Supra*, vol. iv. p. 354.

[2] Ep. 179. Gerbert declared to Wilderod, bishop of Strasburg, that he was forced to accept the archbishopric. "Noverunt fratres et coepiscopi mei, qui post Arnulfi dejectionem, sub divini nominis attestatione, hoc officium me suscipere coegerunt." Ep. 217.

Gerbert as archbishop.

What we know of Gerbert's acts in his official capacity as archbishop of Rheims redounds to his credit. And difficult indeed was the task he had to perform; for, by the dire ravages of war, the diocese was in a sad condition. He showed himself an ardent defender of the oppressed, and of the rights of his see. He displayed at once firmness and moderation in dealing with wrong-doers To a youthful bishop whom presents had induced to inflict some undeserved penalty on one of his priests, his metropolitan writes:[2] "Owing to the difficulties of the times, we have not hitherto been able to seek the things of God as we could wish" He proceeds to say that now, however, by the mercy of the Lord, he has a little breathing space, and he reminds his correspondent that, if all priests have to do what is in accordance with the laws, still more have bishops. "Why then do we set money before justice? Why by unholy cupidity do we crush beneath our feet the laws of God? . . . . Overcome your want of years by the gravity of your life. Let continual reading and study improve your mind." He must at once restore what has unjustly been taken away.

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[1] Ep 180

[2] Ep. 198

To certain powerful violators of the rights of the clergy and the poor he grants a brief space for doing penance and making satisfaction. At the end of the prescribed time "they will then be recognised as fruitful branches of the Church, or as dead wood to be cut away from God's vineyard by the sword of the Spirit."[1] He does not, however, fail to recommend moderation in the infliction of ecclesiastical censures. He would have no excess in this particular; for, where the salvation of souls is at stake, there is need of the greatest restraint. "No one must be deprived of the Body and Blood of the Son of God with any undue haste; for by this mystery it is that we live a true life, and such as are justly deprived of it are in life already really dead."[2]

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ruggle
ith Rome.

But Gerbert had not much time to devote to the specific business of his office. From his election in the summer of 991 to the time of his taking his final leave of France in the summer of 997, he was occupied in trying to maintain himself in his see against the opposition of the Pope.[3] So keen was the struggle, so exhausting were its details, that he reckoned the honour he had attained was bought at the expense of all peace of mind. And he, who does not appear to have been one of those physically brave men on whom the terrors of death make no impression, declared that he would sooner engage in battle than become involved in a legal dispute,[4] and that, too, though he could wield the law, on occasion, as well as any man.[1]

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[1] Ep. 199. *Cf.* 201, 2, 209.

[2] Ep. 208. *Cf.* ep. 203: "Quanto moderamine salus animarum tractanda sit, et vestra fraternitas novit, et summopere pensandum est ut ne quid nimis."

[3] For details see above, vol. iv. p. 360 ff.

[4] "Estque tolerabilior armorum colluctatio, quam legum disceptatio. . . . Barbarorum feritate maceratus, totusque, ut ita dicam,

He certainly made a brave fight to keep the honour he had won. He wrote in all directions to urge his friends to resistance, and his powerful patrons to come to his aid. His friends are told that they should feel assured that he was not the only one whose independence was being aimed at; they must remember that their substance was in danger when their neighbour's wall was being burnt.[2] Above all things they must not keep silence before their judge, for to do so is to acknowledge their guilt;[3] he is ever faithful, he declared, to his friends and a great lover of truth,[4] and they must show themselves the same. He endeavoured to persuade them that to yield would be to compromise the dignity and importance of the episcopal body, and even to endanger the state.[5] If the matter is settled, he urged, over the heads of the bishops, their power, importance, and dignity are brought to naught, since it will show that they had no right, and ought not to have deprived a bishop, no matter how guilty, of his rank.[6] He implored the help of the Empress Adelaide, the grandmother of the young Otho III.; for, "in wondering where faith, truth, piety and justice have taken up their abode," he could only think

alteratus, ... quæ juvenis concupivi, senex contempsi. Tales fructus affers michi, O voluptas, talia mundi honores pariunt gaudia. Credite ergo michi experto In quantum principes exterius attollit gloria, in tantum cruciatus angit interius." Ep. 194.

[1] *Cf.* ep. 217 and his account of the council of Verzy. In this very letter (194) he tells us he refuted his rivals. "dicendi arte legumque prolixa interpretatione."

[2] Ep. 191. "Tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet" Horace, epp I xviii 84

[3] Ep. 192

[4] Ep. 193.

[5] Ep. 191. "Hoc enim concesso, dignitas vel potius gravitas confunditur sacerdotalis, status regni periclitatur"

[6] *Ib.*

of her. To her, therefore, did he fly "as to a special temple of pity," and hers was the help which he sought. All were against him, "even Rome, which ought to be his comfort."[1]

In the course of the struggle he tried the effect of a personal appeal to Rome[2] (996), and yet was ever endeavouring to guard beforehand against an adverse decision from the Pope by contending that, if he issued any decrees which were at variance with existing ecclesiastical laws, such decisions were of no avail.[3] In this connection of opposition to unfavourable decisions from Rome, he was very fond of quoting from St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians:[4] "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach a gospel to you besides that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema."

Gerbert quits France for ever.

When Otho III. left Italy (August 996), Gerbert, neither acquitted nor condemned by the new Pope, Gregory V., returned to France. Most unfortunately for him his patron, Hugh Capet, died before the close of the year (October 24, 996), and his successor Robert, though one of the archbishop's old pupils, showed him no favour. On the one hand, the new king was conscious that Gerbert was opposed to his marriage with his cousin Bertha, which took place soon after his father's death; and, on the other, in view of probable difficulties with the Holy See, in connection with his unlawful marriage, he did not wish to be in opposition with it on other accounts. Without the support of the king, Gerbert could not maintain himself in his archiepiscopal city. His own dependants, regarding him as still excommunicated,[1] or at least contumacious, would hold no communication with him, in matters either sacred or profane.[2] Treatment of that kind no man could endure. From this "unmerited persecution of his brethren," as he calls[3] it, he had to fly. Thus, about the beginning of the summer of 997, Gerbert quitted the kingdom of the Franks, nor, despite blandishments or threats,[4] did he ever again return to it. He turned his back on France, broken in health and spirit. "My days have passed," he wrote[5] to the Empress Adelaide, a few weeks before he retired to Germany. "Old age threatens me with death Pleurisy oppresses my lungs, my ears tingle, my eyes run water, my whole frame seems to be pierced with needles. All this year have I been in bed, stricken down with pain. Scarcely have I risen from my couch when I find myself assailed by an intermittent fever."

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[1] Ep. 204. *Cf.* 217: "Ipsa Roma omnium æcclesiarum hactenus habita mater, bonis maledicere, malis benedicere fertur."

[2] *Cf.* ep. 213 f., and the note of Havet to 213; Richer, *sub fin.*

[3] Ep. 190. *Cf.* the resolution come to by the Synod of Chelles, ap. Richer, iv. 89.

[4] I. 8. *Cf.*, *e.g.*, epp. 113, 192.

Gerbert in Germany, 997

However, the warmth of the welcome he received from Otho, into whose territory he betook himself, soon began to tell favourably on his health, and to lessen the bitterness of exile.[6] "By the divine favour he was freed from his immense dangers, and his lines were cast in pleasant places."[1] He soon resumed his beloved occupation of teaching. Otho gave him the domain of Sasbach;[2] and in return he gave the young emperor not only what he so eagerly[3] sought, instruction and counsel, but also encouragement. "What greater glory can there be in a prince, what more praiseworthy constancy in a leader," he asked[4] of Otho, who was about this time making war on the Slavs, "than to collect his armies, burst into the country of his enemies, support by his presence the foeman's assault, and expose himself to the greatest dangers for his country and for his faith, for his own and his country's salvation?"

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[1] It has already been noted that it is not known for certain the exact date when John XV. excommunicated the bishops who had condemned Arnulf Havet (p. 179, n. 4) says that two twelfth century writers, unfortunately of little authority in this matter, give 994 *Cf.* epp 192, 181

[2] Ep. 181.

[3] "Me a fratrum meorum indebita persecutione Dei gratia liberatum læto animo accepistis," he wrote (ep. 211) to the bishop of Metz.

[4] Ep 181.

[5] Ep. 208. As in 970 he was an *adolescens*, he is thought to have been born about 940. He would in 997 be about sixty He soon began to recover his health after he left his troubles behind him About the close of the year he could speak of his restored health "Nunc secunda valitudine reddita." *Libel. de rat.*, *pref.*, ap. Havet, p. 237.

[6] "Exilium . . . . non sine multo dolore tolero." Ep 181.

Between Otho, conscious to himself of possessing "some sparks of the genius of Greece," and anxious to have his "Saxon rusticity" banished by the powerful flame of his tutor's genius,[5] and Gerbert, professing to find nothing more agreeable than his empire, there was, it may be said, always sympathy and close friendship. Still, the tainted breath of suspicion did occasionally tarnish their friendly relations, as may be gathered from the following letter addressed by Gerbert to Otho during the course of this very first year (997) of their more intimate connection: "I am well aware that in many things I offend and have offended God. But I am at a loss to understand what accusations of my having injured you and yours can have been brought against me, that my devotion has so suddenly become displeasing. Would that it had been granted me either never to have received from your munificence so great favours given me with such honour, or never with such confusion to have lost them when once acquired. . . . Time was when it was thought that, by my favour with you, I could serve many, now it is well for me to have as patrons those whom I once befriended, and to place more confidence in my enemies than in my friends. The latter have ever declared that all would go well with me; the former, either endowed with the spirit of prophecy or animated with that of hate, have ever maintained that neither my good counsels nor my service would benefit me. This is, indeed, a sadder prospect for me than I could wish, but it is scarcely creditable to your imperial majesty. During three generations, in the midst of arms and enemies, have I ever displayed to you, your father, and your grandfather the sincerest fidelity. . . . I wished rather to taste death than not see the then captive son of Cesar mount the throne."[1] Though this strong letter was more than enough to dissipate any want of confidence in "his master" which may have taken a little hold of the heart of the young emperor, Gerbert did not obtain all he had hoped from his enthusiastic pupil. He had expected that through the imperial influence he would be able to keep Arnulf out of the See of Rheims, and secure his own safe occupation of it.[2] But the Slavs and the Romans gave Otho quite enough to do without embroiling himself with the king of France. Before the year 997 had run its course, Otho had to march to Rome against the rebellious Crescentius. With him went his master and adviser, Gerbert of Aurillac.[3]

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[1] Ep. 181.

[2] Thought to be the one near Strasburg. "Magnifice magnificum Sasbach contulistis," ep. 183.

[3] Writing to him (ep. 186) he asks: "Quatinus nobis indoctis, et male disciplinatis, vestra sollers providentia in scriptis necnon et dictis non præter solitum adhibeat studium correctionis, et in re publica consilium summæ fidelitatis."

[4] Ep. 183.

[5] Ep. 186.

Gerbert, archbishop of Ravenna, 998

It was while in Italy at the end of the year 997, or at the beginning of the following year, that Gerbert learnt that all hope of his regaining the See of Rheims was lost. Arnulf, he was correctly informed, had been released from confinement, and was reinstated in his position with the goodwill of King Robert and of Pope Gregory.[1] If, however, Otho was powerless to prevent this misfortune from falling on his respected master, he could counterbalance its effect. About this very time the archbishopric of Ravenna became vacant. Otho at once offered it to Gerbert, and Pope Gregory, glad, no doubt, to find so ready a means of facilitating the settlement of the Rheims difficulty, ratified the choice, and in due course (April 28, 998) sent him the pallium, and confirmed the spiritual and temporal privileges of his see.[2] He made him archbishop and Prince of Ravenna.

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[1] Ep. 185.

[2] *Cf.* epp. 183, 4.

[3] Richer, *sub fin.*

Throughout the year in which Gerbert held the office of archbishop of Ravenna, one of the chief sees not merely of Italy but of the Christian world, we may fairly conclude, even from the little we know of his actions during that period, that his previous activity, especially in the direction of practical reform, was fully maintained. He naturally did not forget his abbey of Bobbio. Not only did he restore order therein, and secure, by means of an imperial diploma, the restitution of property usurped during his absence, but he took measures of more general utility which would benefit ecclesiastical property in general as well as that of Bobbio in particular. Still full of angry memory as to the way in which the goods of his abbey had been alienated by his predecessor under the pretence of long leases, he had it decreed in council and confirmed by the emperor that such leases or donations were to die with those bishops or abbots

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[1] Richer, *sub fin.* Gregory's approval of Arnulf's restoration was not absolute: "Gregorius papa tandiu permittit Arnulfo officium sacerdotale, donec in temporibus racionabiliter aut legibus adquirat aut legibus amittat."

[2] Still Richer. *Cf.* the bull of Gregory, ap Oll., p. 547, or Jaffé, 3883 (2971); and Raoul Glaber, *Hist.*, i., c. 4, n. 13 After the death of the empress Adelaide, Gerbert was to have "districtum Ravennatis urbis, ripam integram, monetam, teloneum, mercatum, muros et omnes portas civitatis, itemque Comaclensem comitatum." The bull just cited.

Photo. by Alinari.

Portrait of Sylvester II.

who granted them.[1] He had previously held a synod at Ravenna (May 1) condemning various simoniacal practices,[2] some of them very curious; such, for example, as the selling by the subdeacons of Ravenna of the chrism to the archpriests and of hosts (breads) of a special shape (Formata) to each newly consecrated bishop. As a last instance of his work as archbishop of Ravenna, it may be noted that along with Otho he was present at the Roman council which condemned the marriage of Robert of France. He had already spoken against it as archbishop of Rheims, and as the first of the Italian primates who assisted Gregory to anathematise it, his signature is found to follow that of the Pope[3]

Gerbert becomes Sylvester II, 999

Gerbert had occupied the See of Ravenna scarcely a year when Pope Gregory V. died or was killed (February 999); and Otho, who in him had placed a relation on the chair of Peter, now caused his respected master to fill the same position[4] The new Pope, who took the name of Sylvester—no doubt because with Otho he intended to act as the first Sylvester was then supposed to have acted with Constantine the Great—was consecrated on Palm Sunday (April 2, 999) As he jokingly said[5] himself—alluding to the fact that the names of the three sees he had held all began with the letter R—"Gerbert ascended from Rheims to Ravenna, and then became Pope of Rome" ("scandit ab R Gerbertus in R., post papa viget R."). By sheer force of merit, the first French Pope, like the only English Pope, reached the highest dignity in the world from being a simple monk of lowly birth. Science and faith—a combination so highly praised by Gerbert that he declares (ep. 190) that the ignorant may be said not to have faith—science and faith had in both cases been rewarded. It is much to be regretted that, compared with the rest of his life, there is comparatively little to be said, because comparatively little is known about the pontificate of Sylvester II.

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[1] *Cf.* the constitution of Otho, which tells us of the synod held by Gerbert (September 29, 998) in the basilica of St. Peter, "ad cœlum aureum," at Pavia, ap. Labbe, ix. 774.

[2] Hefele, *Concil.*, vi 229; Labbe, ix, 769.

[3] Labbe, ix. 773

[4] "Is (Silvester) gratia imperatoris eidem (Gregorio) successit," Thietmar, vi. 61. "Propter philosophiæ gratiam," adds Ademar of Chabannes, *Chron.*, iii, c. 31 (Ademar was born about 988, and was of noble birth He spent most of his life in the monastery of St. Cyr at Angoulême, but died in Palestine in 1034. His Chronicle, "though not a work of the first order, is a source of real importance after it becomes original," *i e.*, from 829 to 1028. *Cf.* the preface of Chavanon to his edition for Picard's *Collect de Textes*). *Cf* his epitaph by Sergius IV., and Raoul Glaber, *Hist.*, i., c. 4, n. 13.

[5] Helgaldus, *in vit. Roberti*, c. 2.

"The year 1000."

We know at any rate something of the times in which he lived. They were, in a word, very evil.[1] As a sign of their deep-seated corruption, Gerbert notes that public opinion itself had gone astray.[2] That only was declared to be right which, just as amongst animals, lust or violence could bring about.[3] But with all this, contrary to what is asserted by many, Sylvester's difficulties were not increased by any widespread and deep-seated apathy or terror produced by fear of the end of the world occurring in the year one thousand. There is no doubt that some were awaiting the advent of that year "with fear and expectation of what was to come." The Abbot Abbo, whose name has frequently appeared in these pages, assures[4] us that, when he was a young man, he heard a preacher in a Paris church maintain that antichrist would come at the close of the thousandth year, and that the general judgment would follow soon after. He tells us, however, that with what skill he could he opposed the opinion "by quotations from the Gospels, the Apocalypse, and the Book of Daniel." He was also commissioned by his "wise Abbot Richard" to refute an opinion that the world would most indubitably come to an end when the feast of the Annunciation (March 25) fell on Good Friday. Adson, abbot of Moutier-en-Der, was commissioned by Queen Gerberga, the wife of Louis d'Outremer, to refute similar opinions.[1] A hymn which was sung at this period is quoted as another proof of the general belief in the approach of the day "of supreme wrath, when darkness shall cover the earth and the stars fall upon it."[2] But though in certain parts this expectation of the wrath to come may have been spread among the more superstitious or unlettered (and in our own time we have seen the same section of the people entertain the same ideas), or may have been entertained by mystically-minded persons, there is not enough evidence to justify the assertion of many modern authors[3] that it caused a general stagnation. There is not the slightest allusion to any such alarming state of things in any of the papal bulls of the period, nor does either Gerbert or Otho make any mention of it. The tangible difficulty that both Pope and emperor had to encounter in the midst of their lofty schemes for the regeneration of the world by the joint action of the Papacy and the empire was the intractable Roman.

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[1] "Dira ac miseranda tempora fas verterunt in nefas." Ep. 130. "Acerba tempora." Ep. 147; *cf.* 152.

[2] "Corruptissimi temporis est, non posse discerni secundum popularem opinionem, quid sit magis utile." Ep. 92.

[3] Ep. 92.

[4] At the close of his *Apologeticus*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 139, p. 471.

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[1] See his work ap. *P. L.*, t 101. He was one of Gerbert's correspondents, and was addressed by him as "my father." *Cf.* ep 81.

[2] The following, as quoted by Gebhart, *Moines et Papes*, p. 4, are the opening lines of the hymn :—

"Audi, tellus, audi, magni maris limbus ;
Audi, homo, audi omne quod vivit sub sole
Veniet, prope est, dies iræ supremæ,
Dies invisa, dies amara ,
Qua cœlum fugiet, sol erubescet,
Luna mutabitur, dies nigrescet,
Sidera supra terram cadent.
Heu miseri, heu miseri ! Quid, homo, ineptam
Sequeris lætitiam ?"

Cf c. 14 of Pardiac's *Life* of S Abbo for a full account of "the year one thousand"

[3] *E g.* Lausser, *Gerbert*, p 323.

The new constitution of Otho.

Otho, who, on the death of Gregory, had come to Rome from Gæta, where he had been to visit S. Nilus, remained there for a month or two. In the fullest harmony, Pope and emperor were engaged during that time in granting privileges at each other's request,[1] in holding synods for the transaction of business, and no doubt in maturing plans for their joint government of the world. Then during the summer heats they were constantly away from Rome. We find traces of them at Beneventum and at Farfa. It seems to have been during this interval that their governmental schemes were matured. For in one of his diplomas Otho himself declares that, leaving Rome, he had a conference with Hugh, marquis of Tuscany, on the question of "restoring the republic," and had held counsel with the venerable Sylvester II. and with various of the great men of the State regarding the empire.[2]

With a view to gratifying, not so much the enthusiastic historical instincts of one who "had inherited the treasures of Greek and Roman learning,"[3] as the Romans,[4] it was resolved that Rome and not Germany should again be made the seat of empire; and that, with a view to overawe them, the emperor should be surrounded with the elaborate ceremonial of the Byzantine court. Though many were of opinion that little good would be effected by the realisation of these ideas,[1] efforts were at once made to give them effect. Otho's seals proclaimed that the empire of the Romans was renewed. "Renovatio Imperii Romanorum" was the legend they bore. In his edicts he signed himself: "Emperor of the Romans, Augustus, Consul of the Senate and People of Rome."[2] He surrounded himself, so it is said by many, with crowds of officials after the manner of the Eastern emperors, and distinguished them with the same titles. He had a Protovestiarius (chamberlain), a Protospatharius and a Hyparch, a Count of the Sacred Palace, a Logothetes, a Prefect of the Fleet, and many other similar functionaries with equally high-sounding appellations.[3] In his palace, which he built (or adapted) on the Aventine, near the monastery of St. Boniface, in which his beloved St. Adalbert had dwelt, he sat down to dine by himself at a semicircular table, raised to a higher level than the others.[4] To bring into perfect unison the action of Pope and emperor, the seven "palatine judges"[5] were placed on a new footing. Chosen, as before, from among the clergy, they were to have equal standing in both the Church and the State. They were "to consecrate" the emperor; and, with the clergy of Rome, elect the Pope. They had also to form the emperor's council. Without them he was not to issue any important decree. The *Primicerius* and *Secundicerius* were to be the first ministers of the emperor, and to hold the chief rank in the Church. The *Arcarius* (or treasurer)[1] had to see to the collection of the revenue, while the *Sacellarius* was the army paymaster, and was responsible for the proper distribution of alms to the poor. The *Protoscrinarius* (chancellor) was the chief of the scriveners, and the *Primus Defensor* had to watch the administration of justice. To the seventh judge, the *Adminiculator*, was entrusted the care of the widow and the orphan and of the unfortunate generally.[2]

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[1] "Per interventum . . . . D. Silvestri summi Pont.," "Rogatu Ottonis imperatoris." Jaffé, 3900 (2986) f.

[2] The diploma is dated October 3, 999, "Notum esse volumus, qualiter nos quadam die Romam exeuntes pro restituenda Republica," etc. Ap. *R. I. SS.*, ii., pt. ii., p. 493. Fragments of the new constitution have been found by Mabillon and by Pertz.

[3] So Gerbert speaks of Otho, ep. 187, who in turn insinuates his "Grecisca subtilitas," ep. 186.

[4] "Roma, quam pre cæteris diligebat." Thiet., *Chron.*, iv. 30.

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[1] "Imperator antiquam Romanorum consuetudinem . . . . suis cupiens renovare temporibus multa faciebat, *quæ diversi diverse sentiebant*" Thiet , *Chron* , iv. 29.

[2] Ap. *R. I SS.*, ii , pt ii., 496. *Cf.* Gregorovius, *Rome*, iii., 468, n. 2.

[3] For this and what follows *cf.* Olleris, p. clxxi Gregory of Tusculum, of whom we shall hear more, was Prefect of the Fleet. *Cf.* also Gregorovius, *Rome*, iii., p 444 f.

[4] Thiet., *Chron* , iv. 29.

[5] They were also known as "judices Ordinarii"

Had this constitution come thoroughly into being, it would have resulted in the formation of an empire differing both from that of Old Rome—for the emperor would not have been the sole lord—and from that of Charlemagne, on account of the permanent and important position assigned to the clergy.[3] It is more than likely it would have proved to have been impractical. Popes and emperors do not easily agree. But it was an effort to bring them into harmony, and to forestall the terrible troubles which their discords brought on the Middle Ages. And it is possible that, if a long joint-reign of Sylvester and Otho had given the scheme an opportunity of getting into good working order, it might at least have acted as a brake on both Pope and emperor, and so have at least lessened the evils which their struggles caused. But the premature death of Otho strangled the conception in its birth.

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[1] In the court of Charlemagne the "arcarius palatii" had been the "dispensator thesaurorum" or an almoner, evidently more like the papal Sacellarius. *Cf.* ep. Alcuini, 111, ed. Düm.

[2] *Cf.* the lists of *papal* officials given by John the Deacon in his *Liber de ecclesia Lateranensi* (ap. *P. L.*, t. 194), which he addressed to Alexander III. (1159–81); and by the author of the third part (p. 171 f.) of the *Graphia*. This part its editor (Ozanam, Paris, 1850) believes to have been compiled at some time after the sixth century and before the ninth. But the bulk, at any rate, of this work also only dates from the twelfth century.

[3] *Cf.* Picavet, p. 196.

How far is this *constitution* of Otho authentic?

After the criticisms of Halphen,[1] however, the gravest doubts must be entertained as to the authenticity of the details of Otho's attempt to make Rome again the seat of the empire. The story of Otho's splendour in the Eternal City is not mentioned by any contemporary authority, and the transformation of the officials of the papal palace into imperial functionaries rests for the most part on two unsatisfactory documents. The first of these is the last portion of the *Graphia*,[2] the second a fragment in Bonizo's *Decretum*[3] regarding the seven judges of the pontifical court. Most of the *Graphia* is taken from the *Mirabilia Urbis Romæ*,[4] and from a copy posterior to 1143, and was put together not earlier than the second half of the twelfth century. Its third or last portion consists of a conglomeration of documents from all sources and ages, and is a *jeu d'esprit* where all is in confusion. Hence, though the fragment of Bonizo and the list of officials in the *Graphia* are tenth century documents, Halphen does not believe that they show the imperial court at Rome, but thinks that all that can safely be affirmed about the matter is that Otho tried to revive some ancient usages, and "even some ancient Roman titles, as that of *magister militum*, and sometimes gave his functionaries Roman titles."[5]

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[1] *La Cour d'Otton III*, in *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*, t. xxv., 1905, pp. 349-363.

[2] The only complete edition of this work is that of Ozanam, *Documents inedits.*

[3] Ap. Mai, *Nova Pat. Bib.*, vii., pt. iii. p. 59, and *M. G. LL.*, iv., p. 664. The same list, as we have said in a previous note, is to be found in John the Deacon.

[4] Its latest edition is that of Fabre-Duchesne, ap. *Le Liber Censuum*, i. 262.

[5] *L. c.*, p. 363.

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Although, or rather because, Otho was loyally attached[1] to the Roman Church, and eager for the honour of his ally, we are compelled to reject the document which purports to be a deed of gift by him of eight counties to the Pope. The diploma,[2] which was found at Assisi in 1139, and falsely called "Decretum electionis Sylvestri II.," has those who stand for its authenticity as well as those who call it in question. After setting forth that Rome is the head of the world, and the Roman Church the mother of all the Churches, the document goes on to say that she has obscured her illustrious titles through the carelessness and ignorance of her pontiffs. It blames these latter for simoniacally alienating the goods of the Church and, in the general confusion of laws, "for joining the greatest part of our empire to their apostleship."[3] This they did by means of a false deed drawn up in the name of Constantine the Great by John the Deacon, "of the maimed hand" (*digitorum mutilus*), and by means of the donation of a "certain Charles." But, though this Charles was at length deprived of empire "by a better Charles," he gave what he had no right to give, what he had wrongly acquired, and what he could not hope long to keep in his possession. Despising all these forgeries, "we make a grant out of our own domains. As, from love of St. Peter, we elected the lord Sylvester, our master, Pope, and, by the help of God, ordained and created him (ipsum serenissimum ordinavimus et creavimus), so, from love of this very lord Pope Sylvester do we, from our own resources, make a donation to St. Peter, in order that our master may have from his disciple wherewith to offer to our Prince Peter." The eight counties granted were then enumerated—Pesaro, Fano, Sinigaglia, Ancona, Fossombrone, Cagli, Jesi, and Osimo.

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[1] Among the other titles he assumed, he took that of "Servant of the Apostles." *Cf.* Gregorovius, *Rome*, iii. 479, n. 2.

[2] Olleris, who prints it on p. 551, once a defender of its genuineness, became a stout opponent of it.

[3] "Confusis vero papaticis legibus . . . . in tantum quidam Pontifices creverunt, ut *maximam* partem imperii nostri apostolatui suo conjungerent." Olleris, p. 551.

Whether this document be considered as a whole, or in its details, its spuriousness seems equally obvious. From Otho's letters to Gerbert and his invariably respectful attitude towards him, we might be sure that, in the very act of bestowing a favour upon him, he would not have spoken so disparagingly of his predecessors as this supposed deed would make him. As a deed of gift, too, it fails in every mark of authenticity. It is not addressed to anyone, it bears no note of time or place, and is countersigned by neither secretary nor chancellor. Looking at its details, nothing could be more absurd than the statement that tenth century pontiffs, who in practice possessed neither regal authority nor regal territory, had usurped "the greatest part of our empire." The declaration that the so-called donation of Constantine was a forgery by John "of the maimed hand," is quite enough to stamp this production itself as a forgery. The authenticity of Constantine's donation was not attacked for centuries after this, and was drawn up long before the days of the cardinal secretary, John, whose hand was cut off by Pope John XII.[1] Who, it may be asked, was the "certain Charles" who was driven from the empire by "a better Charles"? And what was the donation he gave? Not even the Othos pretended to "elect, ordain, and create" Popes. Finally, every single one of the places mentioned had already been made over to the

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[1] *Cf. supra*, vol. iv. p. 256. We have assumed the identity of the maimed cardinal-deacon of the days of John XII. with the forger, John the Deacon.

See of Rome by the donations of Pippin, Charlemagne, or Otho I.[1]

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But in the tenth century there was, in any case, need of more than donations on paper, and of more than mere decrees and fine governmental schemes for the ruling of the world. It was not enough for Otho to decree "that the Church of God should be freely and firmly established; that his empire should flourish and his army triumph; and that the power of the Roman people should be extended, and the republic restored."[2] Parchment diplomas were powerless either to reward friends or punish enemies. There was everywhere need of the presence of a strong arm. Otho was soon to learn the truth of this. Meanwhile he felt that his presence was needed in Germany. His aunt, Matilda, the famous abbess of Quedlinburg, of whose remarkable influence and ability as regent the Saxon annalist gives[3] us such a striking picture, had died at the beginning of the year (February 7, 999), and now word reached him that his grandmother, Adelaide, "the mother of kingdoms," had also died (December 16). He became conscious "that by the fall of three columns, *i.e.*, by the deaths of Pope Gregory, and of his grandmother and his aunt, the Church was in danger, and now rested on himself alone. He had accordingly a great desire to revisit his country. And so, after settling all matters both ecclesiastical and civil which called for immediate adjustment, he set out along with Ziazo the Patrician, Rodbert the Oblationarius, and a number of cardinals. Never did an emperor leave or return to Rome with greater pomp."[1]

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[1] To bolster up this document some authors refer to ep. 216 among the letters of Gerbert. It is a letter addressed by Otho to Pope *Gregory* (in 996), and not to Pope Sylvester, and concerns, not a donation to the Pope, but some disputed jurisdiction between certain great officials. Otho says he leaves to support Gregory the nobles of Italy, Hugh of Tuscany and the count of Spoleto, "cui octo comitatus, *qui sub lite sunt*, vestrum ob amorem contulimus, nostrumque legatum eis *ad præsens* præfecimus." Should it be thought that the "certain Charles" is Charles the Bald, his rival was not a "better Charles" but Carlomann, who never succeeded in depriving Charles of the empire. *Cf.* the *Libellus de Imp. potestate*, sub fin. from which the forger seems to have drawn, and vol. i. pt. ii. p. 468 of this work.

[2] Diplom. Ott., in *Historiæ Patriæ Monument.—Chart.*, i. 326, in favour of Leo, bishop of Vercelli, May 7, 999.

[3] Ad an. 999.

Poland.

When he had crossed the Alps he was met by a large concourse of German nobles, with whom he at once directed his steps towards Poland. The prowess of its duke, Boleslas I. (Chrobri the Brave, 992?–1025), the real founder of the state of Poland, had naturally made a deep impression on the youthful imagination of Otho. He was anxious to see this great warrior; and he was at the same time wishful to satisfy his devotion by honouring the relics of his martyred friend St. Adalbert; for Boleslas had purchased them from the Prussians, and placed them in his capital of Gnesen. Before Otho left Poland, after accomplishing these objects, he had sanctioned its ecclesiastical independence; and, as some would have us believe, had consented that Boleslas should assume the title of king. Whether Otho made such concessions as he actually did make because the power of the ambitious duke was such that he could not well help himself, or because he believed that Boleslas could be best attached to the empire by kindness, can scarcely be now decided. At any rate, "with the permission of Sylvester,"[2] he constituted Gaudentius, Adalbert's brother, the first archbishop of Gnesen—"it is to be hoped lawfully," inserts[1] the German Thietmar, who evidently does not approve of the action of Otho—and subjected to him the bishops of Colberg, Krakau (Cracow), and Breslau.[2] In days when bishops were men possessed of great civil as well as spiritual power, to have its bishops independent of a hierarchical superior in another land meant far more for a country in the tenth century than it does to-day. So that if Boleslas effected no more than the establishing of a hierarchy independent of any German bishop, he did much towards rendering Poland free from subjection to the empire. But many moderns maintain that he secured more than this from Otho. Following authorities who were not contemporaries,[3] they assert that Otho himself crowned Boleslas king of Poland. There does not, however, seem any satisfactory evidence for the statement. On the contrary, from what St. Peter Damian tells us in his

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[1] *Ann. Saxo*, ad. an. 1000; this account is largely drawn from the contemporary Thietmar, *Chron.* iv. 26, 28, and the annals of Quedlinburg.

[2] *Ann. Hildesh.*, an. 1000. "Licentia Romani pontificis." These annals confuse Bohemia and Poland. *Cf. Chron. Polon.*, i., c. 7: "Cujus (Otho's) pactionis decretum papa Silvester S. Rom. Eccles. privilegio confirmavit." In the same chapter, speaking of Boleslas' own action in founding churches where he made conquests, the Polish

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chronicle assures us he acted in harmony with the Pope: "Ecclesias ibi multas et episcopos per apostolicum, ymmo apostolicus per eum ordinavit." On this chronicle, which is to be found ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix., or *P. L.*, t. 160, see note on the following page.

[1] *Chron.*, iv. 28.

[2] "Ungero Posnaniensi excepto." *Ib.* Hence it would seem that Mr. Morfill, in his excellent little history of Poland, is mistaken when he says (p. 29) that Posen was *included*.

[3] *E.g.* the author of the *Miracula S. Adalberti*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 137, *sub fin.*, who wrote between 1247 and 1295; and the author of the *Chron. Polon.*, i., c. 6, who is often quoted as Martinus Gallus. This chronicle was drawn up at the beginning of the twelth century "to describe Poland, and especially the deeds of Boleslas (III., Wry-mouth, 1102–39), and for his sake to tell some of the deeds of his predecessors which are worthy of memory" (Præfat. in lib. i.). The *Vita Meinwerci* (ap. *M. G. SS.*, xi.), which is sometimes quoted in connection with this affair, is of no great historical value, as its information on the matter is drawn from the *Annales Hildesheimenses.* It was not written till after 1078, as that date is noticed in c. 179. Morfill, p. 27, only quotes Kromer, a sixteenth-century writer.

Life of St. Romuald,[1] we find that even under Henry II. Boleslas was still without a crown. For at that time he made a vain effort to get the regal diadem from Rome. In reply to a request from the Polish duke that he would send him missionaries into his kingdom, Otho asked St. Romuald to send some of his monks. Two agreed to go. After seven years' laborious work on the Sclavonic tongue, and after they had obtained the necessary permission to preach from the Pope,[2] they commenced their mission. Anxious to obtain a crown "from the authority of Rome," Boleslas endeavoured to persuade these two apostles to return with great gifts to the Pope, and to procure papal recognition of his wishes. Whether, however, from true zeal for their work or because they were in the interest of the German monarch (afterwards the Emperor Henry I) they refused to concern themselves with secular business. However, the contemporary annals of Quedlinburg[3] assure us that, when Boleslas heard of that emperor's death (1024), he at once had himself anointed and crowned king. But his successor, Misico (Mieczyslaw II.) was not able to maintain his father's pretensions against the warlike emperor, Conrad I., who succeeded in dividing Poland into *three* parts, and, curious to say, made Mieczyslaw *tetrarch* of one division[4]

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[1] Ap *M G SS*, iv., c. 28 *Cf.* also Hartwig (or Chartvicius, on whom see further on), *in vit. Stephani*, who, while assigning by mistake the incident to Miecislas, the father of Boleslas, attests the sending of the embassy to the Pope, and its failure to attain its object

[2] "Summæ sedis antistiti prædicandi licentiam petunt." *Vit. S. Rom*, c. 28. The Pope would be John XVIII

[3] *Annal. Qued*, an. 1025, ap. *M. G. SS*, iii. *Cf. Ann. Corbeienses*, an. 1025

[4] "Sic imminuta potestate, minor facta est temeritas," says Wipo (c. 29, *cf* c. 9) in his *Gesta Chuonradi*, from which these facts are taken *Cf* Adam of Bremen, ii. 54. "Fortissimus cæsar Conradus, qui mox Polanos et regem eorum Misingum . . . . perdomuit, et auxiliatores eorum Behemos ceterosque Sclavorum populos sub tributum misit"

From a letter of Gregory VII.[1] it appears that even Boleslas II. was only a duke in 1075. It was in the next year, we are told,[2] that that prince, afterwards the murderer of St. Stanislaus, assumed the title of king. For the killing of the saintly bishop, Gregory deprived him of the rank he had appropriated; and "up to the present no king has arisen in Poland since that time."[3]

Hungary.

Compelled again, no doubt, by necessity, Otho gave his sanction to the acts of another prince which also tended to remove still further from the grasp of the empire another and wholly different race of people, the Hungarians. When last we spoke of them, we regarded them with horror. A nation of mounted bowmen, their dread arrows were spreading terror through Germany, France, and Italy. They were now more or less peaceably settled in the ancient Pannonia, in the land which to-day bears their name. The sword and Christianity had already softened them a little. Their raiding tendencies had been checked by the terrible defeats they sustained (955, 968) at the hands of Otho I. Their wars, moreover, had not been an unmixed evil. They both took prisoners, and were taken into captivity. Their prisoners preached Christianity to them, while they themselves were baptized in prison.

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[1] *Regist.*, ii. 73. So in the *Annal. Hildesh.*, an. 1015, it is still "Bolizlavus dux Polianorum"; and to Thietmar (*Chron.*, vii. 16), up to the last year (1018) of which he treats, Boleslas is only a duke.

[2] Lambert. Hers., *Ann.*, 1077. "Dux Polenorum . . . . regiam dignitatem . . . . sibi usurpavit . . . . atque ipso die natalis Domini a XV. episcopis in regem est consecratus."

[3] So says the author of the *Miracula* just cited. From a verse in his epitaph Boleslas would appear to have shown his devotion to Rome and St. Peter in a manner similar to that employed by king Boris I. of Bulgaria (see vol. iii. p. 117 of this work). He cut off his hair, and sent it to Rome.

"Fonte sacra lotus, Servus Domini puta totus,
Præcidens comam, septenii tempore, Romam."

Ap. Bielowski, *Mon. Poloniæ Hist.*, i. 320.

Possibly remnants of the old Pannonian Church of the fourth and fifth centuries may have been made use of in the building up of the new Hungarian Church. Regular missionaries, too, came from Germany to help on the good work; and marriage between their rulers and Christian princesses produced the same results as among the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons. In 973 the Hungarian chief Geiza, who had married a Christian wife, became so far at least a Christian that he placed Our Lord among his gods and declared he was rich enough to serve two divinities! But under the teaching of St. Adalbert he became a more thorough Christian, and had his son Vaik (afterwards St. Stephen I., king of Hungary), baptized by the saint. In 995, to strengthen the youth's faith, Geiza caused him to marry Gisela, the daughter of Henry the Quarrelsome, duke of Bavaria. The young prince corresponded most heartily with all the efforts made in his behalf; and when he succeeded his father in the headship of the nation (997), he proved that he was both able and willing to work for its welfare. He became the Alfred of the Hungarians. His first aim was to make his people Christian; his second to keep them free. He succeeded in both his efforts.[1]

Establishment of a hierarchy in Hungary.

To propagate the faith, he introduced missionaries[2] from different countries, and decided to establish a hierarchy. At the same time, realising what a paramount position the Pope occupied in the eyes of Christians not only in the spiritual order, but, from his relation to the emperor, in the temporal order also, he resolved to apply to him for a crown. If, argued the ruler of the Hungarians, the Pope's co-operation was necessary before a king could become an emperor, he could certainly make a duke into a king. Whatever of the myth may hover about the first Magyar monarch, there is no doubt that he applied to the Pope both for a hierarchy and a crown. His contemporary, the German historian Thietmar,[1] vouches for his establishing bishoprics and receiving a crown. He would, however, insinuate that Stephen so acted at the instigation of Otho. No doubt the fact is that Otho wisely acquiesced in what he could not prevent. At any rate, the envoys of Duke Stephen found their way to Rome (1000), and returned to their prince with a

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[1] The contemporary *Chron. Suevicum* (ap *M. G. SS*, xiii.; its last entry is for the year 1043), ad an. 1038, says: "Stephanus . . . . obiit, qui se ipsum cum tota gente sua ad fidem Christi ex gentili errore convertit." *Cf.* Ademar of Chabannes (†1034), though he gives the credit of the conversion to Otho—"Hoto . . . . populos Hungariæ, una cum rege eorum ad fidem Christi convertere meruit." *Hist.*, iii. 31. This is all that Ademar himself says of King Stephen. What more is sometimes quoted from him is the work of a twelfth-century interpolator. *Cf.* Chavanon's edition, p 152 f.

[2] Among others, St. Romuald, "licentia ab apostolica sede accepta," says his biographer (c. 39, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iv.; or *P. L.*, t. 144), was anxious to preach the faith to the Hungarians; but illness as often recurring as he attempted to enter the country, caused him to leave the work to his disciples. Relying, however, on a later chapter

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(c. 42) in this same biography by St. Peter Damian, in which mention is made of his recall by the Pope, some (*e.g.* Horn, *S. Étienne*, p. 168) believe that the saint's failure to enter Hungary was not due to sickness at all, but to political reasons. Pressure, it is argued, had been brought to bear on the Pope by Otho's successor, Henry, and he had forbidden the saint to proceed. But moderns sometimes "read facts into" their authorities. To build up their theories, some writers would seem to have confused two different expeditions of the saint, viz. his journey to the Hungarian frontier, and a *second* journey to Istria (*cf.* cc. 30 and 31 with c. 42) which had no connection with the Hungarian expedition. It was about the latter journey that we read in chapter forty-two: "After this, Romuald sailed to Parenyo (where he had built a monastery) for the second time; but the bishop of the Apostolic See and the citizens of Rome sent him an embassy begging his return. If he would come back they would do what he wished, but they threatened him with excommunication if he would not. In this way did our dear Italy manage to recover its Romuald."

[1] *Chron.*, iv. 38. "Imperatoris autem . . . . gratia et hortatu . . . . Waic (Stephen) in regno suimet episcopales cathedras faciens, coronam et benediccionem accepit."

crown[1] and with the necessary powers for the founding of episcopal sees.[2] Declaring, too, that whereas he was only "apostolicus," Stephen was an "apostle," Sylvester is *said*[3] to have granted "by apostolic authority to Stephen and to his successors the right of acting in the place of Sylvester and his successors, and so of directing and ordering ('disponere atque ordinare') the present and future churches of his kingdom." It is certain that the kings of Hungary bear to-day the title of "Rex Apostolicus"; and that they have, at various times, endeavoured to obtain this legatine power from the Holy See.[4] But it is equally certain that the Popes have always maintained that the privileges granted to St. Stephen were strictly personal. They have never, indeed, denied that powers equivalent to those of a legate *a latere* were conferred upon Stephen himself. On the contrary, the subsequent correspondence between the Popes and the kings of Hungary shows that it has always been believed that such powers were conferred upon him.[1] But the Sovereign Pontiffs have never allowed that they were intended to descend to his successors.

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[1] "Benedictionis apostolicæ litteris allatis . . . Stephanus rex appellatur et unctione crismali perunctus, diademate regalis dignitatis feliciter coronatur." *Vita Major*, c. 9. This document assigns the event to the year 1001, but Bishop Hartvig gives 1000 as the year. In doing so he is supported by the *Annal. Posonienses*, ad an. 1000. "Stephanus Ungariorum rex coronatus est." Ap. *M. G. SS.*, xix. We have, as direct authorities for the life of St. Stephen, three documents, the so-called *Vita Minor*, and the *Vita Major*, and the life by Bishop Hartvig. The first professes to relate "quod a fidelibus auditu didicit." From the fact that they speak of King Ladislaus (1077–1095), both the *Vita Minor* and the *Vita Major* may be presumed to have been written during his reign. His successor, Coloman (1095–1114), commissioned Bishop Hartvig to write a new life. Hartvig's life consists simply of the *Vita Major* with a few additions. Of these, the longest (p. 233) is in connection with the negotiations for the crown. The *Vitæ*, with Hartvig's editions printed at the foot of the page, are given in the *M. G. SS.*, xi.

[2] The *Vita Minor* tells of the settlement of the Hungarian Church "ex Romana auctoritate juste ordinata"; and in his genuine charters Stephen constantly refers to the papal authority by which he acts.

[3] See the bull of the Pope, to be cited presently.

[4] As a matter of fact, the title of "Apostolic King" was only assumed a few centuries ago, and the right to assume it only acknowledged in 1758 by Clement XIII. He also gave the Hungarian sovereigns the right of having the apostolic double cross carried before them on solemn occasions. *Cf. English Hist. Review*, April 1898, p. 290 f.

These favours were bestowed upon the Hungarian ruler in return for his having placed himself and his kingdom under the protection of the Holy See. This fact is known to us not from any doubtful source, but from a letter[2] written within forty years after the death of Stephen by Gregory VII. to Solomon (1063-1074), one of the holy king's successors. "As you can learn from the elders of your country," wrote the Pope, "the kingdom of Hungary belongs in an especial way to the Holy Roman Church, inasmuch as it was piously offered by King Stephen to Blessed Peter with all its rights and jurisdiction."

Now that, on what may be regarded as thoroughly reliable testimony, we have established the real relations between Sylvester and Hungary, we may give the famous bull[1] which was once generally supposed to have been sent to King Stephen in the year 1000 At present the general feeling seems to be that the document was forged in the seventeenth century, though some distinguished authors, like Fabre, believe that Olleris has given satisfactory answers to the objections urged against it. It opens with the statement that it was by divine forewarning that Sylvester expected the arrival of ambassadors "from a nation unknown to us" (" de ignota nobis gente"). "Wherefore, glorious son, all that you have asked of us and of the Apostolic See, the crown, the kingly title, the metropolitan see at Gran (the ancient Strigonium) and the other bishoprics, we gladly grant, and allow you by the will and authority of Almighty God, and by that of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, together with the apostolic and our blessing. The country, which, with yourself and the present and future people of Hungary, you have munificently offered to St. Peter, we place under the protection of the Holy Roman Church, and return to your wisdom and to your heirs and lawful successors to have and to hold, to rule and to govern. And these thy heirs, after they have been legitimately elected by the magnates, shall be bound to testify to us and to our successors, either personally or by their ambassadors, due obedience and respect; to show themselves subjects of the Roman Church; . . . . and to persevere in and to promote the Catholic faith and the religion of Our Saviour. And as your nobility did not disdain to preach the faith of Christ, to supply our place, and particularly to honour the Prince of the Apostles, we grant you and your successors the right to have the cross,[1] the sign of apostleship, carried before you and them, and, in our stead, to direct and order the churches of the kingdom of Hungary. . . . We pray Almighty God, who directed us to give to you the crown we had prepared for the duke of the Poles, to preserve the kingdom for you, and you for the kingdom." The meaning of the expression "the crown we had prepared for the duke of the Poles" is made plain by what is to be read in a late Hungarian chronicle.[2] Miesko, the chief of the Poles, is said to have sent an envoy to the Pope for a crown just before St. Stephen despatched his embassy on the same errand.[3] The Pope received the request of Miesko favourably, and ordered a splendid crown to be made. But he was told in a dream that wicked rulers would for a time succeed Miesko, and that he must give the crown to the ambassadors of "an unknown people, the Hungarians," who would arrive on the morrow.[4] Accordingly, the Pope gave the crown to St. Stephen, and impressed upon the envoys of the two dukes that the most profound peace must ever be maintained between their respective peoples as long as they persevered in their love for the church, and in the pure Christian faith.

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[1] Besides the testimony of the ancient *lives* of Stephen, we have the letters of Urban II. (July 27, 1096, ap. *P. L.*, t. 151) to Coloman; of Andrew II. to James, cardinal-bishop of Palestrina (September 1233, ap. Theiner, *Mon. Hist. Hung.*, i. p. 116. He tells how Stephen "provincias per episcopatus distinxit" . . . . "auctoritate, summi pontificis, qui ipsum vocabat regem et apostolum gentis nostræ"); and of Bela IV. to Gregory IX. (June 7, 1238, ap. *ib.* 171, "Petimus, ut officium legationis . . . . nobis . . . . committatur, ut habeamus potestatem limitandi dioceses, etc. . . . . quia hec omnia b. m. S. Stephano sunt concessa"). Paul II. (1465, in *Mon. Vat. Hung.*, ser. i. vol. vi., No. 54, quoted by *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, p. 295) asserts that the fact of Stephen's legatine powers "in canonibus memoriæ proditum invenitur." More than a century and a half before him, Boniface VIII. had declared to his legate Nicholas in Hungary that it was certain that Stephen had offered his kingdom to the Pope, and had been presented with a crown "sicut hec plenius documenta, que servantur in Archivis ecclesiæ Rom. testantur." Ap. Theiner, *ib.*, p. 388.

[2] Ep. ii. 13, October 28, 1074, ed. Jaffé.

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[1] Jaffé, 3909 (2995) It is printed by Olleris, p. 147, and in the *P. L.*, t 139

The crown of Hungary.

Resting on the facts that this letter of Pope Sylvester was never heard of till the seventeenth century; that the original whence it was said to have been copied has never been forthcoming; that by Sylvester, the friend of the three generations of Othos, the Hungarians are spoken of as "a nation unknown to him," etc.,—historical criticism has, it would seem, demonstrated the forgery of the bull; but close examination does not appear to have proved that "the holy crown" of Hungary has no connection with Pope Sylvester. In 1880 a committee was appointed by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences to inspect the regalia. Careful investigation revealed the fact that there was a Greek or Byzantine portion of the crown, and a Latin or Western portion. The crown proper was of Byzantine workmanship, and was adorned with the images, in enamel, of various Greek saints, as well as of Michael VII., Ducas, and the Hungarian King Geyza I. (1074–1077). But "the upper and more ancient part is the crown sent by Pope Sylvester. (It) is formed by two intersecting hoops, and connected at the four lower ends by a border. On its top is a small globe capped by a cross, which is now in an inclined position, and beneath it is seen a picture of the Saviour in sitting posture, surrounded by the sun, the moon, and two trees. The entire surface of the two hoops is adorned with the figures of the twelve apostles, each having an appropriate Latin inscription; but four of these figures are covered by the lower crown."[1] When and how Sylvester's crown was mutilated, and when it was joined to Ducas's gift, is quite unknown. Still, as the upper crown is acknowledged on all hands to be of Western design, it seems only rational to suppose that it represents what time has spared to us of the crown sent by Pope Sylvester II.

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[1] The double or apostolic cross "appears as the principal charge on the sinister half of the Hungarian escutcheon," and is to be found "as an heraldic charge on a seal of Bela IV. 1243." *Eng. Hist. Rev.*

[2] The *Kronika Wegiersko-Polska*, ap. Bielowski, *Mon. Polon.*, i. The chronicle was drawn up certainly not before the beginning of the thirteenth century, and perhaps not till the fourteenth century.

[3] "Supplicat Sanctitati Vestræ, pater sancte, Mescho, dux Polonorum, ut eum vestra pia dextra benedicens, regio dignaretur diademate coronare," *Kronika*, c. 5.

[4] "Crastina die . . . . ignotæ gentis stirpis orientalis Ungariæ nuntios ad te venturos esse," etc. *Ib.*, c. 6. It would seem as if this chronicle had furnished the forger of the bull with much of his material.

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[1] Vambéry, *Hungary*, p. 75. He says: "No doubt whatever is entertained as to its (the upper crown) being the one sent by Pope Sylvester." And yet the writer in the *English Historical Review* doubts.

At any rate, on August 15, 1000, Stephen was crowned at Gran, and for well-nigh forty years afterwards laboured for the good of his people. To civilise and Christianise them the quicker, he did all that lay in his power to promote intercourse between the rest of the world and his own subjects. He induced foreigners, especially monks and nuns, to come and settle in Hungary; and did his best to promote travelling among his people by encouraging pilgrimages to Jerusalem, Rome, and other places. And as our King Ina is said to have done for the Anglo-Saxons, he caused a church to be built in Rome for the use of the Hungarians.[1] This church came to be known in later times as St. Stephen *in Piscina*.[2] It was situated in the region Parione (that of the Piazza Navona), and was near the palace of Chromatius, "where the Jews make praise."[3] The holy king is also said to have established a residential centre for his people on the Celian hill. It was restored in the fifteenth century, and an inscription has left it on record that the work was accomplished by Philip de Bodrog by means of donations received from pilgrims.[4]

Stephen, who is said to have had a great devotion to

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[1] The *Vita Minor*, c. 4, tells of the large sums of money he sent to Rome, "ut ibi in honore prothomartyris Stephani, ecclesia fundari deberet." See especially a bull of the antipope Benedict X. (May 8, 1058), ap. Schiaparelli, *Cartario di S. Pietro*, in *Archivio della Soc. Rom. di Storia Patria*, 1901, p. 483, where it is laid down that the Hungarians "Romam venientes, non habeant licentiam hospitandi in aliquo loco . . . . nisi ad S. Stephanum prothomartyrem qui appellatur minor, cujus ecclesiam Stephanus rex Hungarorum construxit, ut esset eorum hospitium," etc.

[2] *Cf.* the *Mirabilia Romæ*, n. 15. A note in the English version adds that the church "stood opposite to S. Lucia in the Via S. Lucia," p. 114. It was destroyed a few years before 1870.

[3] *I.e.*, where the Jews paid their homage to the Pope. *Cf.* the *Ordo* of Canon Benedict, written in the beginning of the twelfth century.

[4] "Domus Ungarorum, renovata per D. Philippum de Bodrog, Serenis. D. Vlasdislai regis proc. ex eleemosynis peregrinorum, sedente Alexandro, P. VI., 1497"; ap. Horn, p. 160.

Our Lady, was crowned and died (1038) on the day of her Assumption (August 15), and "in Hungary his chief festival is kept on the 20th of August, the day of the translation of his relics."[1] The sovereign who had been mainly instrumental in transferring to the true God the worship which his people had paid to Isten (the father of the gods), the fear they had felt for Ördog (the god of evil), and the respect they had lavished on golden-haired fairies, was in due course canonised by the Church of Rome.[2] And to this day, with the best of reasons, is King Stephen, the founder of their civil and religious liberties, devoutly honoured by the great and free nation of the Hungarians. The broad-minded policy which Sylvester adopted in dealing with this wild and high-spirited but religious people secured not only faithful subjects for the Church and for Rome throughout all time, but a glorious bulwark against the Turk in the later Middle Ages, and a trusty ally for Christendom in this very century of the Crusaders, whom, as some have thought, Sylvester was the first to call to arms. If this last idea is drawn from an exaggerated view of the scope of one of Gerbert's letters, it would seem at least fair to say that he had a share in calling the attention of Europe to the state of affairs in the East, and so in preparing men's minds to correspond to the direct appeal to arms made them by Pope Urban II.

Jerusalem

Among the letters assigned to Gerbert is the following:[3] "The Church of Jerusalem to the Universal Church which rules the sceptres of kings. When I reflect on your prosperity, Immaculate Spouse of Christ, of whom I proclaim myself a member, I conceive a solid hope of raising, by your means, my head well-nigh quite crushed. . . . If you acknowledge me as yours, is there one among you who can think that the terrible calamity which has overwhelmed me does not concern him? Though now down-trodden, I am still regarded as the noblest portion of the world. Here were the oracles of the prophets heard, here lived the Redeemer of the world. . . . But as a prophet had declared that 'his sepulchre shall be glorious' (Isaias xi. 10), the devil tries to render it ignoble by the infidels who are destroying the holy places.[1] Arouse thyself, then, soldier of Christ, take His standard and fight for Him,[2] and what you cannot effect by force of arms, bring about by your counsels and by your money. . . . By me God will bless you, so that you may become rich by giving." Should we see no more in "the terrible calamity" and in "the destroying pagans" ("famosa clades, paganis subvertentibus") than the statement of the well-known fact of the possession of Jerusalem by the Saracens, and (with Havet)[3] assign the letter, not to the pontificate of Gerbert, but to a year as early as 984, there would seem no reason for doubting its authenticity or classing it among the *dictamina*.[4] The letter was apparently only an appeal for alms for the holy places such as we have already seen sanctioned by the Popes, and such as are sent out by them to-day. But at the same time it is patent that its warlike tone cannot have failed to have made many who heard it feel that the Lord's sepulchre might be helped by steel as well as by gold.

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[1] Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, ix 16

[2] But when? "By Benedict IX in the manner described by Benedict XIV.", says Butler, *ib.*; "Five centuries after his death," says Vambéry, *l.c.*, p. 96; by Gregory VII, says Horn, *St. Étienne* (Paris, 1899), p 190 Those who are anxious for a more detailed, if not more accurate, account of St. Stephen should read the last-named work.

[3] Ep 28 This letter was certainly written before Gerbert became Pope

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[1] Ep. 28, "Paganis sancta loca subvertentibus."

[2] *Ib.*, "Enitere ergo, miles Christi, esto signifer et compugnator."

[3] P. 22.

[4] Jaffé, 3938. Lair in an elaborate treatise on a bull of Sergius IV., discovered by himself, and purporting to be in connection with a crusade to avenge the destruction of the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem (1010) by the mad Caliph el-Hakim, maintains that the letter we are discussing was also the work of Sergius IV. *Cf. Bulle du P. Sergius IV.*; *lettres de Gerbert*, Paris, 1899. And it cannot be denied that reference to the destruction of the Church of the Resurrection would give a more pointed meaning to the "famosa clades," and that the address to the Universal Church and the imparting of a blessing to all donors ("per me benedicit tibi") seem

Otho returns to Italy, 1000.

Meanwhile, by pursuing what was practically a policy of non-intervention in the affairs of neighbouring powers, Otho soon had Germany tranquil enough to enable him to return to Italy (June 1000). Difficulties in the Roman Duchy caused him to march south. He had received a letter from the Pope from which he learnt that the Count of the Sabina was refractory. Sylvester had visited Horta, and had received the customary dues from a certain number of the inhabitants. Irritated that an appeal had been carried to the Pope instead of to himself, the Count of the Sabina put himself at the head of those who had not made the required payments, and who were consequently malcontents, and initiated an armed disturbance whilst the Pope was saying Mass. Sylvester had to quit the town amid the din of arms; and wrote to Otho: "If not for our sake, at least for your own interest, see to it that by your and our agent our rights in the Sabina may be restored to us, and our present poverty thus relieved by a proper income."[1]

Otho in Rome

In response to this, Otho came to Rome (October 1000) with some of the chief men of the empire—among others, with Henry, Duke of Bavaria, soon to be the emperor Henry I., "the chief glory of the empire . . . in whom God had poured all the treasures of human and divine wisdom."[2]

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to point to a Pope as author of the letter. Jaffé (3972), however, and others deny the authenticity of Lair's bull.

[1] Ep 220, ed Olleris.

[2] Tangmar, *in vit. Bernwardi*, c. 22 (ap *M. G SS* iv, or *P L.*, t. 140), who was an eye-witness of the Tivoli affair we are about to relate.

Needless to say, he was received by the Pope with every mark of distinction. But not even the presence of Otho himself was capable of repressing the spirit of lawlessness in the Roman Duchy.

The siege
f Tivoli.

For some reason or other,[1] the people of Tivoli killed a certain Duke Mazzolinus, who, we are told, was a most illustrious youth and a friend of the emperor.[2] In company with the Pope, St. Bernward, and, as it would seem, St. Romuald also, Otho at once marched against the town and laid siege to it. Such a vigorous resistance was offered that several of his nobles wished to retire. Letting him know how it would grieve him to have to retreat, Otho asked for the advice of Bernward The bishop, who throughout his career always showed himself a saint of a very masculine type, advised a closer siege, and told the emperor that, though he was very anxious to return home, he would not leave him till he had seen the city and its people subject to his authority.[3] Encouraged by these manly words, the siege was pressed with the utmost vigour, and the Tivolese were soon glad to accept the mediation of the Pope and Bernward. Acting on their advice, they offered unconditional surrender; and the principal inhabitants presented themselves before Otho—a picture of the savageness of the times. Naked, save for a cloth round their loins, with their swords in their right hands and rods in their left, they bade Otho either strike the guilty with the sword or, if he would be merciful, scourge them in public. Through the intercession of the Pope and Bernward, Otho spared both the city and its inhabitants, and even the mother of the murdered Duke was induced, by the prayers of another saint—St. Romuald—to pardon her son's assassin.[1]

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[1] Gregorovius, *Rome*, iii. 487, *conjectures* that it was because Mazzolinus had been sent them by Otho as governor, and because they objected to such an interference with their municipal liberties.

[2] Damian, *in vit. S. Romuald.*, c. 23; and *Gesta Epp. Camerac.*, i. c. 114, ap. *P. L.*, t. 149.

[3] Tangmar, c. 23. He is the best authority for this Tivoli incident.

Otho besieged in Rome, 1001

Otho had not long returned to his palace on the Aventine, when, inflamed by a childish envy or hatred of Tivoli, of which we shall again see indications,[2] and urged on by the ungrateful Gregory of Tusculum,[3] who utilised their jealousy of their little neighbour for his own ends, the Romans broke out into rebellion Some of the emperor's friends were slain, and Otho found himself cut off from communication with his troops outside Rome, and besieged in his palace But, in the saintly Bernward, Otho had a tower of strength He aroused the valour of the palace guard, heard their confessions, administered Holy Communion to them, and prepared to lead them out against the rebels, bearing in his hand the *sacred lance.* He did not, however, neglect the arts of diplomacy. The bishop's efforts in both directions were ably seconded by Duke Henry of Bavaria and Hugh of Tuscany from without the walls.[4] The Romans cooled down as rapidly as they had flared up.

"Are you my Romans?" burst out the indignant young emperor to the citizens when they came to renew their oaths of allegiance. "For you have I left my country and my relatives. For love of you have I shed my own blood and that of my Saxons and of all the Germans. You[5] have I led to remote parts of our empire where your fathers, even when they ruled the world, never set foot. This I did that I might spread your name and fame to the most distant regions .... In preferring you to all others, I have incurred the ill-will of all. And now in return you have cast off your father, and have cruelly slain my friends. You would shut me out from among you. This, however, you cannot do, as I will not banish from my affections those whom I have once cherished with a father's love." With these few simple words Otho found his way to the hearts of the Romans. They were prepared to do anything for their enthusiastic, their inspired young sovereign. Benilo and another leader of the sedition were soon lying half dead at Otho's feet.[1]

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[1] This last item is furnished us by St. Peter Damian in his life of the saint (c. 23).

[2] *E.g.* in 1142. "Romani . . . indigne ferentes, Tyberinos cum imperatore pacatos, etc." Tangmar, c. 24.

[3] The same whom Otho had made Prefect of the Fleet The counts of Tusculum are now coming into the foreground of the picture.

[4] *Cf.* Gesta Epp. Camerc., *l.c*, with Tangmar.

[5] The annals of Quedlinburg (ad an. 1000) tell of the number of *senators* he took with him to Germany: "Non paucis ex Romano senatu una secum pergentibus."

Otho's flight from Rome, February 1001.

But the arch-traitor, Gregory of Tusculum, was not dead; he hatched fresh plots against his friend.[2] Otho had many enemies in Rome, clerical[3] and lay; and the Romans, whom in place of his Germans he had gathered round him, were false friends. The more he had favoured them the more hostile had they become. Familiarity had bred contempt.[4] To these facts Henry of Bavaria and Hugh of Tuscany, at any rate, were not blind. They induced the emperor to leave the city. This, in company with the Pope, he did secretly and hurriedly (February 16, 1001), so that his departure was a veritable flight.[5] And

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[1] Tangmar, c. 25.

[2] "Gregorius, qui Cesari valde carus erat, dolo eum capere nisus, occultas tendebat insidias." Thietmar, *Chron.*, iv. 30.

[3] Viz. those whom, vitiated by the normal "Roman avarice," he had endeavoured to reform. "Mores etiam ecclesiasticos, quos avaricia Romanorum pravis commercationum usibus viciabant, ad normam prioris gratiæ reformare estimabat." Gesta Epp. Cam., i. 113.

[4] These are the reflections of the anonymous clerical author who drew up the *Gesta* of the bishops of Cambray, about 1041.

[5] Hence the Annales Colonienses, ad an. 1001, say shortly: "Otto .... Roma expulsus est." Tangmar (*in vit. Bern.*, c. 27) says they left the city on *Exurge quare* Sunday, *i.e.*, Sexagesima Sunday, which in 1001 fell on February 16th, and not on 20th as Jaffé has it.

Rome, "the city once beloved by him above all, but henceforth to be more detested by him than all others,"[1] never saw him more. Broken-hearted at the failure of schemes which probably all but he and the Pope regarded as visionary,[2] and burning for vengeance for what he regarded as the unworthy treatment he had received, Otho began to raise troops. His dependants were told to hasten to him with all speed, bringing with them all the soldiers they could, if they had any concern for either his honour or his safety.[3]

Otho and the Pope in various parts of Italy.

For a few days after their expulsion from the city, the Pope and the emperor remained in its neighbourhood, waiting maybe to see if a reaction would take place in their favour. Then for the next twelve months, viz. till the time of his death, Otho (sometimes having Sylvester in his company) was to be found now in one part of Italy and now in another — from Pavia and Ravenna in the north to Beneventum and Salernum in the south.[4] At one time both emperor and Pope are at Ravenna, living with a saint (Romuald) for purposes of devotion, while the emperor contemplated, at least, becoming a monk under the holy man's direction. At another time we find both of them, each on his own account, engaged in besieging cities and in reducing rebellious nobles to obedience. Sylvester is encamped on the Emilian Way before Cesena;[5] Otho is storming Beneventum. Then again we see Otho receiving back in safety from the

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[1] *Ann. Quedlinburg*, ad an. 1001.

[2] "Sicut juvenis . . . magnum quiddam, immo et *impossible* cogitans." Gesta, *ib.*

[3] Thietmar, *Chron*, iv 30

[4] "Imperator cum papa . . . . Ravennam et alias provinciæ urbes peragrat et ad ulciscendam irrogatam injuriam cogit auxilium." Gesta, *ib.*

[5] St. Peter Damian, *in vit. S. Mauri* (Bishop of Cesena), c. 3 It is not certain that this siege took place this year.

Romans those of his suite whom they had seized when he had had to fly from the city, and listening distrustfully to their earnest requests for peace, and anon fiercely ravaging their territory.[1] Now the two are granting privileges at each other's request, now celebrating a council together.[2] At one moment the ardent youth is elated at the arrival of Archbishop Heribert of Cologne with a large number of troops, at another depressed by the knowledge that many of his dukes and counts, "with the connivance of the bishops,"[3] were conspiring against him. They were dissatisfied at his lengthy residence in Italy, and his consequent neglect of German affairs.

"The sin of this king," said his contemporary Bruno of Querfurt (†1009), a monk of the monastery of St. Alexius, near which Otho resided, "was that he would not look upon the land of his nativity, delectable Germany. So great was his love of inhabiting Italy, where savage destruction runs armed with a thousand languors and a thousand deaths. . . . . The land of Romulus, fed by the death of his dear ones, still pleases him better with her adulterous beauty."[4]

Death of Otho, 1002

Despite all difficulties, however, Otho had brought to subjection the Roman barons of the Campagna and the Lombard dukes of the south, and was making ready to seize and keep a firm hold of Rome when death overtook him He breathed his last at his headquarters at Paterno at the foot of Soracte (January 23 or 24, 1002), when he was not quite twenty-two years old.[5] He had promised

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[1] Thietmar, *Chron.*, iv. 30: "Verbis eorundem mendacibus diffidens."

[2] The council of Todi, December 27, 1001, on the affair of St Bernward and Willigis, which will be spoken of immediately. *Cf.* Jaffé, *Regest*, i. p. 499.

[3] *Ib* [4] *Vita quinque Fratrum*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xv. 722, 3.

[5] *Ib.*, "Pustellis interiora prementibus et interdum paulatim erumpentibus infirmatur." The Annals of Hildesheim (ad an. 1002),

St. Romuald he would become a monk "when he returned in triumph to Ravenna after he had subdued rebellious Rome"; but the saint had correctly assured him that if he went to Rome he would never again see Ravenna.[1] He died amidst "general grief and was placed in Abraham's bosom," say the contemporary German authorities:[2] he died and "was buried in hell," says the Italian Bonizo,[3] after the violences of Henry IV. had soured the minds of the people of Italy against the German emperors.

Touching and dramatic to the last degree is the story of the carrying back to Germany of the embalmed body of the romantic young emperor, the wonder of the world (*stupor mundi*), as he was called. For some little time his faithful followers contrived to keep the news of his death secret. But intelligence of such importance could not long be kept hidden. It leaked out, and gave courage to the Romans. They overtook the funeral cortege and "with unseemly daring commenced an attack which deserved the execration of all succeeding ages."[4] But the devoted Germans closed round the bier of their departed sovereign, whose early death had welded the hearts of all into one common love. Their gallantry was, as usual, more than a match for that of the Romans, and with their swords they steadily opened out their way to the North, leaving to the tender mercies of their foes those whom want of horses compelled to be left behind. The Alps

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say he died "febre et Italico morbo." The stories told about his death at the hands of the widow of John Crescentius, who is supposed to have been his mistress, by Landulf of Milan, *Hist.*, ii. c. 19; Sigebert in *Chron.*, an. 1002, etc., may be classed among fairy tales. "Apud Paternum defunctus est." St. Peter Dam., *in vit. S. Romuald.*, c. 30; "Castro Paterno immatura morte decessit." *Contin. II. Casuum S. Galli*, c. 4, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ii.

[1] *Vit. S. Rom.*, c. 30.

[2] *Ann. Quedlinburg.*, an. 1002; Thietmar, *Chron.*, iv. 30.

[3] *Ad Amicum*, l. iv.

[4] *Ann. Qued.*, ad an. 1002.

were crossed at last, and the body, the possession of which had been so fiercely contested, was finally laid to rest in the church at Aix-la-Chapelle near the tomb of the greatest of Otho's predecessors, the emperor Charlemagne.

Germany and Italy on the death of Otho.

The power of Otho, young as he was, and vain dreamer as he may have been, may be best gauged by the turmoil of war which ensued in Italy immediately after his death.[1] Twenty-four days only after Otho's death, "the Lombards, realising that they had found their opportunity, assembled at Pavia, and elected as king Ardoin (marquis of Ivrea), a man brave in arms but wanting in the council chamber";[2] and, under the ban both of the Church and of the State, he was crowned on Sunday, February 15, 1002, in the basilica of St. Michael,[3] and was the last medieval monarch of Italy. He reigned but for a little over two years, though he preserved his independence and the title of king till, in broken health, he voluntarily retired into a monastery (1014) to die.

In Rome the informal government which had been set up on the expulsion of Otho and the Pope was terminated

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[1] A contemporary Italian poet thus bewails the loss of Otho:

"Regnorum robur periit quando Otto cecidit,
Dum Otto noster moritur, Mars in mundo oritur.
Mutavit cælum faciem et terra imaginem"

Ap. Dummler, *Anselm der Peripatetiker*, 72–82, cited by Fisher, *The Medieval Empire*, ii. 255 n.

[2] Bonizo, *Lib ad Amicum*, l. iv *Cf.* Thietmar., *Chron*, iv. c. 34. One of Gerbert's correspondents, Adalbold, in the fragment of his life of the emperor Henry which has reached our time, is very severe on Ardoin, whom he calls a "bishop-killer," and on the Lombards for electing him: "Quidam *episcopicida* Harduinus nomine, non regnabat, sed vitiis in se regnantibus subserviabat in Italia. Audita enim morte Imperatoris Ottonis, Langobardi surdi et cœci, et de futuro non providi, hunc elegerunt, et ad pœnitentiam festinantes, in regem sibi coronaverunt," *Vit. Henrici imp.*, c. 15, ap. *M. G SS.*, iv., or *P. L.*, t. 140, p. 96. *Cf. supra*, vol. iv. p. 421.

[3] *Catal. regum Ital Oscelenses*, ap. *M. G. SS. Langob.*, p. 520.

"by the nomination of John, the son of Crescentius, as patricius"[1]—a man whom Thietmar describes as "of the earth earthy," and as distinguished by a more than hereditary avarice.[2] The German power in Rome and Lombardy vanished as suddenly as had occurred the death of Otho himself.

The fact that Otho had not left any children naturally caused trouble in Germany. But at length, out of three rivals, the son of Henry the Quarrelsome became King Henry II. of Germany[3] by the election of the nobles of Saxony, Franconia, Bavaria, and Swabia (June 1002). Henry was a cousin of Otho, and was "a most Christian man, and a man of high moral character."[4] He is known to history as Henry the Saint.

Willigis of Mayence and Bernward of Hildesheim.

In the difficulties of Otho and Sylvester with the Romans, the important part played by St. Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim, may perhaps be remembered. He had come to Rome with troubles of his own. On the borders of his diocese and that of his metropolitan, Willigis of Mayence, stood the famous convent of Gandersheim, the early history of which has been described for us in verse by the most illustrious of its children, the nun Hroswitha.[5] Laxity had crept into it, and one of the chief offenders was Sophia, who was the sister of the emperor. When Bernward, who was as energetic as he was learned and good, attempted a reformation of the convent, he encountered a determined opponent in Sophia. Owing to the illness of the superioress, she assumed the management of affairs, and took the lead against the bishop. Effectually to checkmate him, she persuaded Willigis, who was perhaps nothing loth to believe it, that jurisdiction over the convent belonged to him and not to Bernward. Matters came to a head when the question arose as to who was to consecrate the convent church. The archbishop determined to take the affair out of the hands of his suffragan, who promptly appealed in person to Rome. From both the emperor and the Pope, whose united action in this matter is typical of their mutual concord, he received a most cordial reception (January 5, 1001). In throwing himself upon Otho, Bernward was quite aware he was throwing himself upon a friend, for he had been the emperor's master. When it was known that Willigis had held a synod on this dispute at Gandersheim itself, though he knew that Bernward had appealed to Rome, the Pope and the emperor were both much annoyed.

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[1] Hugo of Farfa, ap. *R. I. SS.*, ii., pt. ii. p. 552. Gregorovius, *Rome*, iii. 491, says, I know not on what authority, that, on the expulsion of Otho from Rome, Gregory of Tusculum (the son or grandson of Alberic II., prince of the Romans, †954) "assumed the government of the city."

[2] *Chron.*, vii. 51. "Iste terrenus et natura et actibus, etc."

[3] To be, as emperor of Germany, Henry I. (1002–1024. Emp. from 1014).

[4] Bonizo, *Lib. ad Amicum*, l. iv. *Cf.* Thietmar, *Chron.*, v. 7 and 9; Tangmar, *in vit. Bern.*, c. 22.

[5] *P. L.*, t. 137, p. 1138. The convent, the building of which had been approved by Sergius II. (844–7), was transferred to Gandersheim in 856. *Cf.* Tangmar, *in vit. Bern.* (ap. *M. G. SS.*, iv.), c. 12; and Wolfer, *in vit. S. Godehardi*, c. 21, ap. *P. L.*, t. 141. It was founded by Luitolf, Duke of Saxony, who went to Rome, and obtained from Pope Sergius relics of Popes Anastasius I. and Innocent I., and then started a convent in their honour at Brunesteshusen. Jaffé, i. p. 329.

Council at Rome, 1001

A council was at once called to examine into the affair (January 13, 1001). In the church of St. Sebastian *alla Pallara* on the Palatine[1]—a small edifice which still stands—there met together, under the presidency of the Pope and the emperor, twenty bishops, of whom three were German and the rest Italian. After the reading of extracts from the Gospels and of certain canons, Bernward explained his case. Then "the most wise Pope" asked if that was to be accounted a synod which the archbishop had held in a church that had always been under the sway of the bishops of Hildesheim, and at a time when its bishop was absent, and had appealed to Rome.[1] The bishops retired to consult. On their return to the council-chamber, they declared that the so-called synod was rather a "schism which was likely to cause grievous trouble." It was accordingly decided to declare null what Willigis had done, and to hold a synod of the Saxon bishops at Pöhlde (near Herzberg, in Prussia) on June 21, under the presidency of Frederick, cardinal-priest of the Holy Roman Church, himself "a Saxon by birth and, though young in years, old in virtue." He was to be attired like the Pope to show how closely he was to represent him.[2]

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[1] "Præsidente D. Gerberto apostolico cum imperatore in palare in ecclesia S Sebastiani martiris." Tangmar, c. 22 This little church, with its frescoes which may date further back than the tenth century, is still to be seen on the left as you mount the Palatine from the arch of Titus. It is sometimes called St. S. "alla Polveriera," "in Palatio," or "in Palladio"; sometimes, too, it is St. Maria alla Pallare. The editor of Tangmar in the *Monumenta* would see "parlartorium" in "palare." But it seems clear that it is the Pallara of which we have just spoken. The church, with the monastery which used to be attached to it, was given by Alexander II. to Monte Cassino—"abbatiam SS. Sebastiani et Zosimi, quæ Palaria vocatur," Jaffé, 4725 (3493). *Cf.* Vita Gelasii

Other councils on the subject.

The council was duly held at Pöhlde (June), but led to nothing but insult to the legate and to a display of violence on the part of the archbishop, who refused to remain or to appear before the synod. Thereupon the legate passed sentence on Willigis to this effect: "Because you have withdrawn from the synod, and have shown yourself dis-

II., c. 5, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iii. 1, where we read, "in monasterio, quod Palladium dicitur, infra domos Leonis et C. Frangipanis." The word "Palladium" is derived from Palladium Palatinum, of which an inscription (ap. *Corp. Inscrip. Lat.*, x. 6441) mentions a *præpositus*. The Sun-God temple of Elagabalus (in which he placed the *palladium* he had robbed from the vestals for his temple) seems to have been near the little church. Some authors suppose that Pallara is a corruption of the same Palladium.

[1] "Et ad Romanam sedem pro suis causis confugerit." Tangmar, *ib*.

[2] "Apostolicis paramentis atque insigniis non minus infulatus quam si ipse papa procedat." *Ib.*

obedient to the commands of the Roman Pontiff, I declare you suspended from your priestly office until such times as you shall have appeared before Pope Sylvester, the vicar of SS Peter and Paul."[1] When Frederick returned to Italy he found that the emperor and the Pope were no longer in Rome. But as soon as the action of Willigis was communicated to them, in high dudgeon they ordered "all the bishops" to come to them at Christmas, and took the opportunity to remind them to come with their armed retainers.[2] However, when Christmas arrived, and the synod was opened at Todi, so few of the German bishops were present that practically nothing could be done. The death of Otho still further protracted the settlement of the affair, which dragged on into the reign of Henry II. With[3] or without the consent of Bernward, Sophia became abbess of Gandersheim towards the close of this year. But at length, through the prudence of the king, "the hateful dissension" between the archbishop and his suffragan came to an end, and Bernward was allowed to consecrate the abbey church.[4] It was not, however, till 1043 that the successors of Willigis finally renounced all claim to jurisdiction over Gandersheim.

Lateran synod, December 1002

What befell the Pope after the council of Todi, what he thought or what he did, we know not. Whether he accompanied Otho, and assisted him on his deathbed, how he bore the deathblow to his grand ideas for the government of the world caused by the demise of Otho and the election of a king in North Italy; how he was affected by the nomination of Crescentius as "Patricius"; how he regained the city—we cannot say. However, as Crescentius held the title of Patricius for ten years (1002–12), and, through his sons and brother-in-law, was all-powerful in the Sabina, it is not improbable that Sylvester had no great amount of political power in the city.

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[1] Still Tangmar, c. 29, who is practically our only authority on this affair, and, as Bernward's master, no doubt writes wholly in his favour. *Cf Annal Hildesh.*, ad ann., 1001, 2, 7

[2] "Cum omni suo vassatico ita instructos, ut ad bellum, quocumque imperator præcipiat, possent procedere." Tang., c. 30.

[3] With the Annals of Hildesheim (ad an. 1002) contrast Tangmar, c. 39.

[4] *Annal. Hild.*, an. 1007, Tangmar, c. 43. *Cf.* Wolfer, *l c*, and c. 22.

At any rate, it is certain that he was back in Rome before the end of the year 1002; for on December 3 of that year he held a council in the Lateran concerning the action of Conon, bishop of Perugia. The scribe who has left us an account of it opens his notice by the wise remark that it is most advantageous to commit to writing cases which have been settled by a court of law, lest time should cause them to be forgotten, and the old difficulties should recur. The abbot of the monastery of St. Peter's near Perugia maintained against Conon that he was directly dependent on the Pope. During the course of the dispute the abbey was broken into by an armed band, the abbot himself dragged away from the very altar, and his goods given up to plunder. This violence was laid to the charge of the bishop. Conon, however, whilst stoutly denying that he was in any way privy to the ill-treatment the abbot had received, maintained that the abbey depended upon him, and not upon the Pope, "the father of all bishops," as he called him. And when *privileges* of Popes John XV. and Gregory V. were produced to prove him in the wrong, he maintained that they had been granted without the consent of his predecessor. It was shown, however, that it was this very man who had himself asked for the privilege. Thus reduced to silence, Conon acknowledged the Pope's rights, and gave the abbot the kiss of peace. "After this, the most reverend Pope, with the Roman judges, decided that, if any bishop of Perugia should renew this question, he should pay ten pounds of most pure gold to the Lateran palace."[1] On this affair Muratori[2] makes the following comment: "Thus did the bishops of those times consent to the diminution of their authority, but from this case it appears that their consent was asked. In process of time, however, it was deemed at Rome superfluous to ask for it; and these monastic privileges were granted according to the pleasure of the Roman pontiffs." It should, however, be noted that even in the privileges granted long before this, there is nothing to show that the consent of the diocesan was ever asked.[3]

Arnulf of Rheims.

It was only natural that the mind of Sylvester should often turn to the land of his birth, and that it should retain a deep interest in those with or against whom he had there fought the battle of life. That it actually did so, we can glean evidence enough from the few fragments of his doings whilst Pope which the storms of a thousand years have suffered to be cast up on the shores of our times. Whether he had come there of his own accord, trusting to Sylvester's nobility of character, or because he was summoned thither, Arnulf, Gerbert's rival for the see of Rheims, was in Rome in the month of December 999.[4] A sincere reconciliation took place between the quondam opponents; and, to give tangible expression to it, the Pope issued a bull, drawn up with all his consummate tact, in which Arnulf is recognised as archbishop of Rheims. "Sylvester, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his beloved son in Christ, Arnulf, archbishop of the holy church of Rheims. It is part of the Apostolic dignity not only to give counsel to sinners, but to raise those who have fallen. . . . Wherefore we have thought it right to come to your assistance, Arnulf, archbishop of Rheims, who for some excesses (*quibusdam excessibus*) have been deprived of your episcopal dignity. And as, moreover, your abdication has never been approved at Rome, you may be assured that it can be swept away by the power of Rome's clemency. For Peter has a supreme authority which no mortal dignity can touch.[1] With the restoration of crozier and ring, we concede to you by these presents the right to perform your archiepiscopal functions, and to enjoy all the privileges which belong to the holy metropolitan church of Rheims, the pall, the privilege of consecrating the kings of the Franks and your suffragans, and all the power possessed by your predecessors. Moreover, we forbid anyone to upbraid you with the past. May our authority everywhere shield you even against the reproaches of conscience." The bull concludes by restoring to Arnulf all his spiritual and temporal rights, and by prohibiting any person whatsoever from contravening its sentence. With Arnulf, who survived him some twenty years, Sylvester not only maintained an official correspondence,[2] but, as the following letter of his will show, manifested a great interest in his welfare.

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[1] *Cf.* the original document, ap. Olleris, pp. 265–6.

[2] *Annal.*, ad an. 1002.

[3] *Cf.* c. ii. n. 2 of Fabre's *Étude sur le Liber Censuum de l'église Rom.*, where the privileges granted by the Popes to monasteries are very critically examined.

[4] See the document cited by Jaffé, 3908 (2993).

Ascelin of Laon, 1001?

In maintaining the turmoil in which France was kept by the decay of the Carolingian dynasty, one of the most active spirits was Adalberon or Ascelin, bishop of Laon. A pupil of Gerbert, and "once his dear and sweet friend,"[3] he was ever deep in political intrigue. Even if we pass over as unproven the charges of immorality which were levelled against him, he was certainly "a hard master," who oppressed his people with excessive taxation. Whether in exile or in the court of kings, he was always plotting. He betrayed the Carolingians, attempted to place France at the feet of Otho III., and formed a scheme for seizing Arnulf of Rheims whom he had once befriended. This outrageous conduct was brought before the notice of the Pope, and drew from him a letter of well-merited severity. It commenced with the remark that Ascelin need not be surprised if it did not open with the grant of the apostolic blessing, seeing that with the name of a bishop his perfidy had reduced him to the level of the brute creation. "A letter of King Robert and his bishops has been placed in our hands and in those of the emperor, which accuses you before all the clergy and people of these public crimes. Too conscience-stricken to come before a synod, you obtained by renewed perjuries the king's pardon, and promised to surrender the towers of Laon. Like Judas you have endeavoured to seize your master, the archbishop of Rheims, by taking him with you to receive the surrender of your fortifications. But the imprisonment of others laid bare the snare you had contrived for him. Now, as you have taken no notice of our warning letters, we summon you to come without fail to Rome, that you may there in the coming Easter-week be examined by a council."[1] Whether or not in consequence of this action of the Pope, Ascelin again became on friendly terms with King Hugh, and held his see till his death (1030).

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[1] "Est enim Petro ea summa facultas, ad quam nulla mortalium æquiparari valeat felicitas." Epp. Gerb., append. iv.

[2] Jaffé, 3932.

[3] Ep. 164.

A feudal grant.

Not to weary the reader with a list of the episcopal causes[2] which came before Sylvester, we will turn to another subject, viz. feudalism. In the latter half of the tenth century we have proof that feudalism—the tenure of land on the condition of military service—which the invasions of Norseman, Hungarian, and Saracen had forced upon the rest of Europe, was making its way into the Roman territory.[1] And in 999 we find Pope Sylvester making to Count Darferius, his sons, and grandsons, a grant of the city and county of Terracina as a benefice (*nomine beneficii*) in return especially for military service promised. He says that he has changed the mode of dealing with the pontifical lands, because, by the system of leases, his predecessors had lost large possessions belonging to the Church. However, that the lands granted may not become the absolute property of those to whom they have been enfeoffed, three golden solidi must be paid for them to the actionarii of the Roman Church each January.[2] If, however, under the system of emphyteusis, many of the possessions of the Roman Church became the property of private persons, many more did so under the feudal system, however modified by Pope or bishop. And if the granting of land "on the condition of making war and peace, according to the will of the Pope," had the effect of bringing into existence a body of fighting men prepared to resist the attacks of pagan and infidel, it also caused to spring up on every eminence the baronial castle, wherein oft dwelt the most savage oppressors the simple people had ever had to meet.

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[1] Epp. Gerb., append. v.

[2] As our historian, Thietmar of Merseburg, was concerned in one, we may refer the reader to the bishop himself, *Chron.*, iii. 8, 9; iv. 28; and to Jaffé, *sub* 3902 (2988).

Sylvester still loves his books.

The man "who had renewed many of the studies of the ancient philosophers, and who was a second Boethius"[3] was not the one to forget his books under any circumstances. This some of his former friends realised, and did not fail to put their scientific difficulties to him as of old. The scholastic Adalbold, while writing to offer "the Lord Sylvester, supreme pontiff and philosopher," his good wishes for his temporal and eternal welfare, and while apologising for venturing to bring private literary difficulties before one so engaged with public affairs, still ventures to propound for the philosophic Pope's solution various scholastic questions. "For I have every confidence that your genius is quite competent to do all that the state requires of it, and to satisfy me with regard to what I ask. I know I act rashly, and I am quite alive to the wrong I am doing when, though a mere youth, I venture to approach so great a man as if he were but a fellow-student. But the confession of a fault I will not say merely seeks for pardon, it exacts it."[1] A request put in so neat a style could not fail to bring a favourable answer. Replies to the geometrical questions he had put were forwarded "to my Adalbold ever loved, and ever to be loved."[2]

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[1] *Cf.* the grant of Castrum Vetus to Crescentius *de Theodora*, ap. Gregorovius, *Rome*, iii. 459.

[2] See the deed of enfeoffment, ap. Olleris, p. 562.

[3] *Chron. Virdun.*, an. 992, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iv.

To Constantine, with whom, both as scholastic at Fleury and as abbot of St. Mesmin (Loviet), he had had a considerable amount of correspondence, he sent an explanation of the globe to help him to study the heavenly bodies;[3] and to his old master Raymond, abbot of Aurillac, he sent a number of books[4] Of his own books, some, perhaps the greater number, he took with him when he left Gaul Others, however, he left behind him, as we learn from his reply to an abbot who had written to acknowledge that he had secured his elevation by simony. "On the point about which you have consulted me, I have put off replying to you because I cannot come across any authority in the books I have by me here in Rome. I remember that the books which treat specially of the matter were left behind in Gaul."[1] However, to show how severe were the penances inflicted even in the beginning of the eleventh century, it may be noted that the Pope went on to say that he remembered enough to decide that the abbot was to be suspended from his office for two years, to fast for two days a week, not to take wine or any cooked food, and not to eat at all till he had recited the entire Psalter.

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[1] Ep. Adal., ap. *Op. Gerb.*, ed. Olleris, p. 471.

[2] *Ib.*, 477.

[3] *Ib.*, 479.

[4] *Brev. Chron. Aurillac.*, ap Mabillon, *Analect*, ii. 241.

Occupations of the Pope.

And so, supplementing the little documentary evidence touching this period of his life which has reached us with what his earlier letters let us know of his ideas and conduct, we may assert with confidence that, whilst snatching a few happy moments for his books, Sylvester passed the too brief period of his pontificate in advancing the interests of the Church all over the world. Everywhere did he oppose the slightest tendency to heresy or schism, following in this the footsteps of "the holy fathers, who resisted heresy, and, wherever they heard that anything amiss was in progress, thought that they themselves were personally concerned. For the Church Catholic is one, though spread over the whole earth."[2] He was prepared to resist schism with his very life if need should arise.[3] Nor would he tolerate breaches of ecclesiastical discipline. "Although the whole Church Catholic is one and the same, still bounds are marked out for each bishop to show in what direction he may extend his power, and where it must be limited."[4] This, in a very practical way, he taught to Gisiler of Magdeburgh, who had interfered with the limits of the diocese of our historian, Thietmar of Merseburg.[5]

The liberality and munificence which distinguished

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[1] Ep. 224, ed. Olleris.

[2] Ep. 87.

[3] "Contra omnia scimata unitatem æcclesiæ, si sic decretum est, morte mea defendo." Ep. 181.

[4] Ep. 145.

[5] *Cf. sup.*, p. 102, n. 2.

Gerbert, archbishop of Rheims,[1] would naturally be resplendent in the supreme pontiff Sylvester II. At any rate, when Pope, he was bountiful towards the poor. Among his other virtues, his generosity towards them is specially picked out and noted by the contemporary monk Helgaud in his *life* of Robert the Pious.[2]

When Gerbert became Pope the hearts of all his friends must have beat high with hope They not only knew his opinion about friendship, viz. that it could well-nigh effect the impossible,[3] but they had had experience that both by word and deed he was ever true to his friends.[4] Unfortunately we have no means of knowing whether the hopes his friends had placed in him were realised, or whether, as Gerbert himself had done,[5] they found they had rested their faith on that proverbially treacherous bog, the word of princes.

Death of Sylvester, 1003

Endeavouring, but not always successfully, to find in philosophy some relief in the midst of his troubles,[6] death overtook him, and for ever calmed the feverish activity of his restless mind (May 12, 1003).[7] Similar fables are related about the death of Sylvester as about that of his friend Otho.

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[1] Ep 200

[2] Vit Roberti, c 2. "Ad apostolatum Petri . . . . conscendens multa in eo virtutum operatus est insignia, et præcipue in eleemosyna sancta, quam fortiter tenuit, dum fideliter vixit."

[3] "Vis amicitiæ poene inpossibilia redigit ad possibilia." Præfat. in *Libel de num. divis* *Cf.* ep. 217.

[4] "Id præ me fero quod amicos in adversis nulla oppressos calamitate destitui." Ep. 92. *Cf.* ep 158. Leothericus of Sens received the pallium from him and "primatum Galliæ per bacullum ejus recepit" Odorannus, *Chron*, *sub* an. 1032.

[5] *Cf* ep 185.

[6] Ep. 45. "His curis sola philosophia unicum repertum est remedium Cujus quidem ex studiis multa persepæ commoda sucepimus . . Et quoniam vestigia philosophiæ dum sequimur non consequimur, impetus tumulantis animi non omnes repressimus." *Cf.* ep. 123.

[7] Jaffé, *sub* 3940 (3013)

The same widow of Crescentius who is said to have poisoned the emperor is related by authors equally non-contemporaneous to have hastened the death of the Pope by the same means.[1] He was buried under the portico (to the right) of St. John Lateran. His third successor, Sergius IV., had the following inscription engraved upon a slab of white marble. The hexameter and the pentameter, separated by a sign shaped like a lance head, are in the same long line. The characters are well made, which is more than can be said of some of the verses themselves, as some of them cannot be translated as they stand.

Iste locus mundi Silvestri membra sepulti
  Venturo Domino conferet ad sonitum
Quem dederat mundo celebre doctissima virgo
  Atq. caput mundi culmina Romulea
Primum Gerbertus meruit Francigena sede
  Remensis populi metropolim patriæ
Inde Ravennatis meruit conscendere summum
  Æcclesiæ regimen nobile sitq. potens
Post annum Romam mutato nomine sumpsit
  Ut toto pastor fieret orbe novus
Cui nimium placuit sociali mente fidelis
  Obtulit hoc Cesar tertius Otho sibi
Tempus uterq. comit clara virtute sophiæ
  Gaudet et omne seclum frangitur $\overline{\text{ome}}$ $\overline{\text{reu}}$
Clavigeri instar erat cælorum sede potitus
  Terna suffectus cui vice pastor erat
Iste vicem Petri postquam suscepit abegit
  Lustralis spatio secula morte sui
Obriguit mundus discussa pace triumphus
  Æcclesiæ nutans dedidicit requiem
Sergius hunc loculum miti pietate sacerdos
  Successorq. suus compsit amore sui
Quisquis ad hunc tumulum devexa lumine vertis
  Omnipotens Domine dic miserere sui
Obiit anno Dominice incarnationis. $\overline{\text{M}}$. III.
  Indic. I. M. Mia. D. XII.[2]

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[1] "Veneficio ejusdem mulieris etiam Papa gravatus asseritur, ita ut loquendi usum amiserit." Ekkehardi *Chron.*, an. 1003, ap. *P. L.*, t. 154.

[2] Ap. Olleris (p. clxxxvi), who copied the inscription himself;

Later history of Sylvester's tomb.

John the Deacon, whose twelfth century description of the Lateran basilica we have often cited, after mentioning the tomb of Sylvester, adds that "even in the driest weather, and though it is not in a damp place, drops of water flow from it to the astonishment of everyone."[1] This, however, was not the only interesting and curious fact in connection with the tomb of Sylvester II. which eye-witnesses have recorded for us. Another historian (Rasponi) of the Lateran basilica, who wrote some five centuries after John, relates that, in the course of certain alterations to the church which took place in 1648, "the corpse of Sylvester II. was found in a marble sarcophagus, twelve feet below the surface. The body was entire and clad in pontifical

Allen (p. 668), who had it specially collated; and *L. P.*, ii. p 264. The sense of the epitaph is as follows :—

This spot, wherein are buried the remains of Sylvester, will give them up to the Lord when the trumpet's sound shall announce His coming. Him had the maid who cherishes the arts, Rome the capital of the world, made famous throughout the globe. By his merits did Gerbert the Frank first win the see of Rheims, the metropolis of his country. Then did he deserve to acquire supreme control over the noble Church of Ravenna and to become powerful. [It is generally agreed that for *sitq*, *fitq* should be written.] A year later with change of name he took possession of the see of Rome, that the world might have a new pastor. The Cesar, Otho III., to whom with faithful loving heart he was ever closely attached, offered him this see. Both, with the clear light of their wisdom, adorned the times; the whole world rejoiced, the power of vice was broken. Like the key-bearer of heaven, in whose place he sat, he received this see after being thrice called. After he had held the place of Peter for (about) a lustrum's space death took him from amongst us. The world, but now triumphant, with its peace departed, grew stiff with grief, and the tottering church forgot her rest. For love of his friend, his successor, the pontiff Sergius, with tender piety adorned this tomb. Whoever you may be who turn your eyes to this monument, say, Oh! God Almighty, have pity on him! He died in the year of our Lord's incarnation, 1003, the first indiction, on the twelfth day of May.—*Cf.* Gregorovius, *Tombs of the Popes*, 31 f. In the translation of the epitaph there given, there is one certain mistake; for it makes Otho, who died before Sylvester, raise the tomb to him.

[1] *Eccles. Lateran.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 194, p. 1551.

robes, the arms were crossed, and the head was covered with the sacred tiara. But as soon as the air came thoroughly in contact with it, it fell to dust and a fragrant odour filled the air, likely enough from the aromatic spices with which it had been embalmed. Nothing remained intact but a silver cross and the pontifical (signet) ring."[1] What became of the ashes of the great Pope is not known, but his epitaph may still be seen in St. John Lateran's let into one of the pillars of the first aisle on the right.[2]

The legendary Sylvester.

Before we take a last look at the epitaph of Sylvester, round which clings so much that is naturally inexplicable and yet completely true, and before we say a last word about Gerbert, so remarkable for his learning and for his rapid rise in the world, we may well cast a glance at the legendary Sylvester. His brilliant career, the darkness of the times on which the light of his knowledge was shed, the inky-black night that succeeded him, made his advent as striking in the eyes of men as that of a bright meteor on a darksome night. As in everything else that was wonderful, the Middle Ages looked for the supernatural in a life so uncommon. They were prepared to find it in any circumstance at all curious. Gerbert had studied in Spain — according to Ademar, among the Saracens at Cordova. How, except by magical arts which he must have learnt there, could he have invented such curious machines? His name was soon connected with the stories of magic which were the common property of different peoples, and which at different times have been fastened on to different individuals. One legend attached to him soon bred another. One of them at length got *into print*. At the very end of the eleventh century cardinal Beno, by some said to be a German,[1] who had deserted Gregory VII. and had gone over to the emperor, wrote a violent diatribe against his master.[2] Provided he could discredit him he was prepared to assert any absurdity. He himself was a magician, he declared, and had learnt the art of magic from Gerbert among others. As Sylvester II., Gerbert, who, "by the divine permission had ascended from hell," deceived many by the answers he received from devils. But, "deceived in turn by similar replies, he was, by the just judgment of God, cut off by an unprovided death. 'You shall not die,' his demon assured him, 'till you have celebrated Mass in Jerusalem.' Forgetful that the Church of St. Croce was known as *in Gerusalemme*, he said Mass in it. Immediately after he died a most horrible death, ordering with his last breath his hands and tongue, with which by sacrificing to demons he had dishonoured God, to be cut to pieces."[3]

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[1] *De Basilica et patriarchio Lateran.*, Rome, 1656, p. 76.

[2] Murray, *Hand-Book for Rome*, p. 118, describes the position of the slab as "against the second inner pier on the left" in the right aisle.

When once such a story had secured a written foundation, its future was secured. Still, the legend developed but slowly, and it was not till the middle of the twelfth century that it attained its full form, and that at the hands of an English writer, William of Malmesbury.[4] Then the curious natural phenomenon in connection with the tomb of Sylvester, mentioned by John the Deacon, brought another class of legends into being. And once again an

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[1] But his latest editor, Francke, knows not on what authority (p. 367). *Libelli de lite Imp. et Pontif.*, ii., ed. *M. G. SS.*, Hanover, 1892.

[2] "Quanto Gregorii odio, quantis quamque inanibus conviciis refertæ sint (epistolæ Benonis) satis notum est" (p. 368), says Francke.

[3] Benonis *Gesta*, ii. c. 3, 4 (*bis*), *ib.*, pp. 376–7. Benzo, bishop of Albi, on the contrary, though a panegyrist of Henry IV., only sees in Gerbert a philosopher rewarded for his genius. See his lines ap. Hock, 410, 548.

[4] *De Gest. Reg.*, ii. c. 10.

English author gives them their fullest development. William Godell, a monk of St. Martial of Limoges, but one of our countrymen, who is said by some to have written (*c.* 1273) a chronicle of Pontigny, writes:[1] "It is said that his tomb foretells the death of a Pope. Shortly before his demise it distils so much water as to turn into mud the soil near it; but when it is only a cardinal or high dignitary of the Church that is about to die, the tomb presents the appearance of having been watered." About the same time that "most worthless compiler" (as his latest editor[2] rightly calls him), Martinus of Oppavia, added a fresh detail to the premonitory warning noted by Godell. Following Vincent of Beauvais, he says that the death of a Pope was foretold not only by the sweating of the tomb, but by a rattling of the bones within it, "as the very epitaph of the tomb sets forth."[3] It is not clear whether this idea about "the rattling of the bones" came from an original misinterpretation of the opening lines of the certainly obscure epitaph of Gerbert,[4] or whether the lines were interpreted so as to harmonise with an existing story. Whichever is the true view, the *venturo Domino* came to mean, not the great Judge before whom the Pope had to appear, but the coming Roman pontiff; and the *ad sonitum* was referred not to the Last Trumpet but to the noise made by the clashing of the bones of the *Silvestri membra sepulti*.[5]

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[1] *Chron. Pontiniacensis*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxvi.

[2] Weiland, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxiii. p. 397. Martinus of Oppavia (Proppau) is generally, but incorrectly, quoted as Martinus Polonus.

[3] *Chron.*, ad an. 999.

[4] That it did so is the opinion of Duchesne, *L. P.*, ii. 264.

[5] Those who desire a fuller account of the genesis and development of the "Sylvester legends" may consult Allen, p. 663 f.; Doellinger, *Papstfabeln*, p. 133 of the French ed. of Reinhard; Picavet, *Gerbert*, c. 6; Olleris, p. clxxxviii. f.; Sica, *Silvestro II. nella legenda*, in the collection of papers dedicated to Leo XIII., Siena, 1893.

With Olleris[1] the legend of Gerbert may be summed up in the words of an old poet: "Be not surprised that the indolent and ignorant crowd have taken me for a magician. Because I studied the wisdom of Archimedes and of philosophy at a time when to know nothing was a boast, fools thought me a sorcerer. But my tomb tells how pious, upright, and religious I was."

Gerbert's works.

Considering the high literary reputation which Gerbert has always possessed,[2] the little that he committed to writing is remarkable. With the exception of his letters, there is no reason to suppose[3] that we have not got nearly everything of importance which he ever wrote. And yet, even if we admit as his all that can with any probability be assigned to him, he has not bequeathed to us more literary material than would go to make up an ordinary octavo volume of some four or five hundred pages. Further, the probability that some of the documents printed as his are really from his pen is slight indeed. Olleris prints among Gerbert's works the pamphlet, "On the Instruction of Bishops" (*Sermo de informatione episcoporum*); but he gives what seem to be conclusive reasons against its being really the work of Gerbert.[4] It may be passed over as a production of a much earlier age than that of the Philosopher Pope.

"De corpore et sanguine Domini."

On the contrary, a treatise, "on the Body and Blood of our Lord" (*De corpore et sanguine Domini*), which has been assigned to others, seems most certainly to be the work of Gerbert as indeed it is said to be in a manuscript of the eleventh century [1]

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[1] P. ccv. A modern poet, Victor Hugo, has thought fit, in his *Welf, castellan d'Osbor*, to depict a Gerbert as black as the darkest of legends has ever painted him.

[2] Quo litteratior postea nemo extitit," was the opinion expressed by Balderic of Térouanne in his *Gesta Pont. Cameracensium* to 1070, l. i. c. 110, ap. *P. L.*, t. 149.

[3] From ep. 92 it appears that he drew up a table to facilitate the learning of the rules of rhetoric, which has not reached us. Other works now lost have also been attributed to Gerbert by certain ancient writers, but on what grounds it is now quite impossible to say.

[4] P. 566. Picavet agrees with Olleris (p. 110).

From the words of the Fathers, from the symbolism of the frescoes in the catacombs, from such epitaphs as those of Abercius and Pectorius, and still more from various legends concerning the Blessed Sacrament which are told of Gregory the Great [2] and others,[3] it seems clear that the Church has always believed in the real presence of our Lord in the sacrament of the Eucharist. There has even been explicit belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation from a comparatively early period. At any rate, in the first controversy which was raised regarding the Sacrament of the Altar, there was no question of "the real presence." The discussion which was provoked by a work of Paschasius Radbert (831) turned solely on the mode or manner of our Lord's presence in the Eucharist. A monk, and then abbot of Corbey (†895), he wrote his treatise, "On the Body and Blood of the Lord,"[4] especially, as he tells us himself,[5] for the purpose of impressing the doctrine of the real presence upon the youths who were studying in the recently founded monastery of New Corbey (or Corvey) in Saxony. Owing to the secrecy (springing from what was known as the *disciplina arcani*) which Christians preserved about many of their doctrines for several centuries, and to other causes, Paschasius was the first to treat at length and in a scientific manner of the mystery of the Eucharist, and especially of the manner of our Lord's presence therein. And in unfolding the Church's teaching on the subject, in bringing out the identity of the body of Christ in the Eucharist with that which was born of the Virgin Mary and rose again from the dead, he not unnaturally used terms which were capable of improvement, and which discussion has in fact rendered much more precise.

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[1] *Cf* Olleris, pp. clxv and 567, and especially Picavet, p 109.

[2] In the addition to the *Life* of St. Gregory (c. 23) by Paul the Deacon (*cf* John the Deacon, ii. 41), we read that the saint was about to give communion to a woman, when she burst out laughing. Asked the cause of her unseemly merriment, she declared it was ludicrous to present to her, as the Body of the Lord, bread which she had herself made with her own hands. At once the Pope and the congregation implored God to heal the woman's want of faith. Their prayer was heard, the sacramental veils were lifted, and our Lord showed himself to all as a little child The penitent confusion of the poor woman may be imagined. *Cf Vitæ Patrum*, v 18, ap *P. L.*, t. 73

[3] Paschasius Radbert himself (*De corp. et sang. Dom*, c. 14), tells a story of the same miracle happening as a reward of the faith and tender love of the priest Plegils, who had long prayed that he might have the happiness of seeing and holding our Lord as the holy Simeon had done.

[4] *De corp. et sang. Domini*, ap *P. L.*, t. 120.

[5] *Explan in Mat*, xxvi. 26, *ib.*

Paschasius was not indeed the first in his century to write about the doctrine of transubstantiation and the real presence. Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt (†853), from Alcuin's school at Tours, and Amalarius of Metz (†*c.* 837) had both expounded the mystery of the Holy Eucharist. But the latter treated his subject in such a childishly mystical manner as to attract no further attention than the condemnation of a local council;[1] and the former, to judge by the fragment which has reached us, confined himself to unfolding the doctrine of the church in terms already more or less familiar.[2] For that reason, no doubt, his work made no sensation. But the deductions of Paschasius went further than those of his predecessors. His conclusions, or the terms in which they were couched, were instantly attacked. Rabanus Maurus and others of Alcuin's very conservative school of Tours took the field against him. The most vigorous of his opponents, however, was Ratram (or Bertram, †866), a monk of his own monastery in Picardy. He has left us a most obscure treatise on the subject—a treatise in which there are some Catholic propositions, and many, seemingly at least, heretical ones.[1] Hence, whilst some have maintained that Ratram taught the doctrine of transubstantiation, others have held that he only acknowledged such a presence of our Lord in the Eucharist as was dependent on the faith of the recipient. When Gerbert wrote on the question, the propositions of Radbert were "in possession."[2]

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[1] That of Quiercy in 838.

[2] He taught, "Substantiam ergo panis et vini quæ super altare ponuntur fieri corpus Christi et sanguinem per ministerium sacerdotis et gratiarum actionem, Deo hoc operante divina gratia, secreta potestate, nefandissimæ dementiæ est fidelibus mentibus dubitare. . . Tenemus quod substantia illa, panis scilicet et vini, per operationem divinæ virtutis, ut jam dictum est, *i e.*, natura panis et substantialiter convertatur in aliam substantiam, *i.e*, in carnem et sanguinem." Ap. *P. L*, t. 118

"Though," he began, "the thought of my own want of spirituality made me shrink from writing on spiritual matters, the words of the Psalmist, 'Open thy mouth wide and I will fill it' (lxxx. 11), encouraged me to speak on a subject about which it is not right to keep silence, viz. on the mystery of the Body and Blood of the Lord. For there are some who say that what we receive at the altar is the same body which was born of the Virgin, while others maintain that it is something different. And there are others again who blasphemously teach that it is subject to the laws of digestion."[1]

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[1] Ap. *P. L.*, t. 121. It has been translated into English: *The Book of Bertram on the Body and Blood of the Lord*, done into English by W. F. Taylor, D.D. London, 1880. The translator allows: "There are, indeed, several passages in this treatise which are expressed very differently from what one would have done oneself, and which, especially when taken by themselves, seem to set forth what would be considered very high doctrine on the subject," etc., p. vi. No doubt it is symptomatic of the obscurity of the treatise that Dr. Taylor, in one of the few notes he adds to his translation, should say of a passage which is redolent of transubstantiation that it is directly against that doctrine (p. 7). In the passage in question Ratram says that "this bread *is made* the Body of Christ by the ministry of the priest," and proceeds to show that then the bread was only "outwardly what it was before"; inwardly it was the Body of Christ. It seems quite certain that Ratram believed in the Real Presence, if not in transubstantiation. On the whole question of the development of the dogma of transubstantiation, see Batiffol, *L'Eucharistie* (Paris, 1906).

[2] It is not clear at what period of his life he drew up his treatise, "On the Body and Blood of our Lord." From its scholastic form it is not unlikely that it was composed when he was *scholastic* at Rheims.

In ten short chapters he endeavours to show that Paschasius and his opponents, Ratram, Rabanus Maurus, and the others, were fundamentally in harmony. For this purpose he adduces several passages from the writings of St. Ambrose, Pope Leo I., and other Fathers. From these he shows that the "Body of the Lord" can be taken in different senses, and adds that it would help to clear away difficulties if it were remembered that the Eucharist may be called "a figure if we merely consider the outward appearances of bread and wine, but actual verity when the Body and Blood of Christ are in very deed believed to be beneath (the appearances)."[2] For, as a certain wise modern has said, "Just as in Christ Himself we believe that all is true, His Divinity, His humanity; that He is the Word and yet true flesh, true God, and true Man; so in the mystery of His

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[1] "Dicentibus quibusdam idem esse quod sumitur de altari, quod et illud quod est ex Virgine natum; aliis autem negantibus, et dicentibus aliud esse; quibusdam etiam diabolica inspiratione blasphemantibus, secessui obnoxium fore" (*De Corp. Dni*, n. 1, ap Ollens, p 279). The last theory was the revolting doctrine of Amalarius and some few others who held that the Body of our Lord in the Eucharist was governed by the same laws of assimilation and excretion as other food. This crass teaching, which, as Gerbert notes, was never before heard of, was deservedly called *Stercoranism*.

[2] "Simpliciter fateamur quia figura est, dum panis et vinum extra videtur; veritas autem, dum corpus et sanguis Christi in veritate interius creditur." *Ib.*, n. 4.

Body and Blood let us understand there is nothing false or frivolous in that which by the power of the heavenly blessing and of the Divine Word is consecrated into what it was not (before). And so," he continues, "we read in the Lives of the Fathers that some among them, not by syllogisms, but by simple words and prayer, compelled one whose faith in this mystery was vacillating to believe that what we receive at the altar is the natural body of the Lord (naturaliter esse corpus Domini), because (it is present) in reality and not in figure."[1]

Then, after a mathematical example, he brings out well the meaning of St Augustine's *triple* body of our Lord: "When our Lord was reclining at the Last Supper with that complete body which He had of the Virgin, and which was to be slain, and then to be seated at the right hand of the Father, with His own hands He gave in communion His body (which we now receive at the altar and which was connatural with and conformed to His true body) to His disciples, *i.e.* to His body, viz. to the Church which we are."[2]

In fine, after presenting his teaching in tabular form, after pointing out that Christ, in the sacrifice of the altar, is at once priest and victim, and after observing that he had offered sufficient apologies for the work of Paschasius, he concludes "with a strong syllogism" against those who drew outrageous conclusions from the fact that the Body of Christ in Holy Communion benefits the body as well as the soul

Gerbert's teaching on the nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, whether written or oral, bore fruit. The orthodox doctrine was handed on in the famous school of Chartres, through Gerbert's pupil, its great master Fulbert, who died bishop of Chartres in 1028.

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[1] *De Corp Dni*, n 7, ap Olleris, p 279.

[2] N. 8.

"Geometria Gerberti," etc.

Whilst he was scholasticus at Rheims, Gerbert composed various mathematical treatises. Among them was one upon geometry. A *Geometria Gerberti* is printed by Olleris,[1] but he doubts whether the work is really his.[2] However, the general feeling seems to be that, though we have not the book as it left his hands, those MSS. on the subject which bear his name are fundamentally his work.[3] To show the calibre of the work it will suffice to note that in it are found problems solved which, for the period, must have presented great difficulty—problems which involve an equation of the second degree.

To the same period must be assigned the *Regula de Abaco computi*, and the *Libellus de numerorum divisione*.[4] The latter was an abridgment of the former. His *Libellus de rationali et ratione uti* ("On the Reasonable and on the Use of Reason"), on the contrary, was written whilst he was in the service of Otho III., and during the winter of 997–998. This tract discusses the relation of the act of reasoning to the power of reasoning, and hence generally the relation of power to act.

Gerbert's letters.

It must be confessed that it is quite impossible to say that any of these works are now either interesting or useful in themselves. Similar language must be used of such verses as have been ascribed to Gerbert. Those only of his works are at once interesting and useful at the present day which have here been used as *sources*, viz. his accounts of synods and his letters. The latter, as the reader will no doubt have already noticed for himself, are as worthy of our attention from the style of their Latinity as from their contents. If not as perfect in classical form as those of the greater Renaissance writers, they are much fresher; and if we miss in them the rounded periods of Cicero, we find the terseness and vigour of Sallust. Written to all the great men of his age, they are of inestimable value, not so much for the historical facts with which they supply us, as for the detailed picture of his times which they offer for our scrutiny. Through them we have living portraits of the men with whom he came in contact, and not the barest of outlines of them. They are by far the most important documents of the age of which we are treating.

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[1] P. 401 f. [2] *Ib.*, pp. xv and 590. [3] Picavet, p. 80 f.

[4] Olleris, pp. 311 and 349. The *Opera Mathematica* of Gerbert have been re-edited (Berlin, 1899) by Dr. N. Bubnov. He has added certain works of other authors which he regards as necessary to the proper appreciation of Gerbert's treatises. Berthelot, *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*, 1885, p. 18 ff., has also written on Gerbert's mathematical works.

Last words.

What a likeness, too, of the man who wrote them do they not give us! In them we see his energy, his zeal for discipline and for advancement in every direction, his impatience of the obstacles he encountered in the course he had elected to follow, his strong passions,[1] and his fidelity and attachment as well to *causes* as to his friends. They let us know that, if he aimed at raising all and everything higher, himself included, it was for the grand end of universal betterment. They show us how, fully reliant upon his own knowledge and judgment, he was self-opinionated, irritable under restraint, and at times but little disposed to follow the wise rules he had laid down for the guidance both of others and of himself.[2] They let us see what a grasp he had of theory and practice both in the domain of learning and in that of politics; what was his breadth of knowledge both of men[3] and things; and how keen was his sense of the fact that, though we are all in the hands of God, we are yet our brothers' keepers.[1]

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[1] He does not hesitate to proclaim that he was influenced in his views not only by friendship and pity, but by anger and hatred. *Cf.* ep. 70.

[2] "Lectio continua, et interrogatio assidua, mentem vestram exacuat," he wrote (ep. 198). In his own political actions the constant asking for advice which he here recommends was often wanting.

[3] "Nam cujus affectuum participes sumus, ejus certe progressus et exitus viarum ignorare minime debemus." Ep. 149.

The pen instinctively lingers round the name of Gerbert, and dreads to think what it has to record when it leaves him. Reluctantly we turn away our eyes from the bright spot in the heavens which the sun leaves after it has set, the more so if we have at once to plunge into a darksome wood. But the bright spot grows dimmer as we gaze, and, disagreeable though it may be, our onward journey must be resumed, howe'er the gloom may gather. This only have we to console us as we grope our way through the darkness: if the sun has set, it has done its work. The world is for ever the better for the rays it has poured upon it, and the men of another day will garner the fruit it has ripened. And so the teachers and the schools that Gerbert had revivified[2] imparted to other generations the fruits of his energising mind. Incalculable was the debt which the Renaissance of the eleventh century owed to the gift of thirty years' unremitting intellectual toil which, as scholastic of Rheims, abbot of Bobbio, archbishop of Rheims and Ravenna, and Pope of Rome, Gerbert of Auvergne had bequeathed to it.

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[1] "Quanto moderamine salus animarum tractanda sit, et vestra fraternitas novit, et summopere pensandum est ut ne quid nimis." Ep 203 He was not disturbed at the success of the wicked in this world. He knew there was another where they would be punished as they deserved; and he regarded trials in this life as a proof of God's mercy. "Ne gravi vel iniquo animo feras justissimam correptionem Dei, dulcissime frater. Divinitas quippe non dignatur impios suo flagello, æternis cruciatibus reservans puniendos." Ep. 136.

[2] *Cf.* Hock, p. 389 f.

JOHN XVII.

A.D. 1003.

Date of his accession.

Of the reign of John Sicco, a Roman and the son of another John, practically nothing is known. Till quite recently the date of its beginning and end was a matter of conjecture. But a discovery of M. Pourpardin[1] may be said to have cleared up the doubts on these points. In an existing necrology of the Church of St. Cyriacus *in Via Lata*,[2] transcribed in the twelfth century from an earlier document,[3] there are a number of obituary notices of both clerics and laymen "who played an important part in the history of Rome in the eleventh century, and even at the end of the tenth." Among the others there is the following: "VIII. Id. Nov. (Nov. 6), obiit domnus Johannes papa." M. Pourpardin has no difficulty in showing that, as this notice could not apply to either John XVIII. or XIX. in the eleventh century, nor to any of the *Johns* in the tenth century from John XII. onwards, it must refer to John XVII. Hence, seeing that the catalogues give him a reign of five months and twenty-five days, he must have been consecrated in May; and, if the number of days has been given correctly, on the twelfth or thirteenth of the month. But the first of these dates was the day of the death of Pope Sylvester, and the second was a Thursday Taking it, therefore, for granted that for twenty-five days (XXV.), we should read twenty-two (XXII.), we arrive at the conclusion that John Sicco was consecrated on Sunday, May 16, 1003.[1] He is now generally called John XVII.,[2] and not John XVI., for the latter number is usually assigned to the antipope John Philagathus.

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[1] Set forth in a note in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, p. 387 f., Rome, 1901.

[2] Afterwards united to that of St. Maria *in Via Lata*.

[3] The MS. is in the Vallicelliana library, f. 85. It was very inaccurately edited by Martinelli (Roma, 1645) in his work, *Il primo trofeo della Santissima Croce eretto da S. Pietro.*

Place of birth.

The only thing of any interest that we know of John XVI.—and it will be seen that it is of importance rather for the history of the city of Rome than for that of John himself—is the fact that he was born in the region then known as *Biveretica*[3] From the ancient Turin itinerary, quoted by Duchesne,[4] it appears that a monastery of St. Andrew *de Biberatica* was situated between the Basilica of the Apostles and the column of Trajan. Hence this newly named region must have included at least part of the old seventh region (*via Lata*). The reason why John's death is recorded in the necrology of a church *in Via Lata* is therefore obvious.[1] The question of the names and regions of Rome from the tenth to the fourteenth century is involved in no little obscurity. The division of the city according to the old civil or ecclesiastical regions seems to have fallen out of use in the confusion of the former century. But at the close of the latter century thirteen regions appear in official documents with the same names as at present.[2] It was not till 1586 that the Leonine city was added as a fourteenth region (Borgo). However, it seems that, after the revolution of 1143, the city was redivided, and again the names of thirteen regions may be collected from different documents.[3] Moreover, though they bear other names in addition, the modern names are also to be seen in conjunction with the older titles. Thus in documents of the twelfth century the first region (now *Monti*, and from the close of the fourteenth century *Montium*) appears as *Montium et Biberatice.* In the beginning of the sixteenth century this region included part of the district in the neighbourhood of Trajan's Forum ;[4] and to this day the boundary of the Rione Monti passes between that Forum and the Basilica of the Apostles. It would seem, then, that for the greater part of a thousand years, the district about Trajan's column has borne the same name. At any rate, whatever is the truth relative to the *regio Biveretica* in the eleventh century, it is clear that the memories of Old Rome were then crumbling to pieces along with its glorious monuments. Not only is all knowledge of its great divisions fading away, but even the origin and use of its individual buildings. In the midst of the turmoil of this age (the eleventh) are being forged the wild legends concerning them which in the following century will be stereotyped by the *Graphia* and the *Mirabilia aureæ urbis Romæ.*

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[1] Before the publication of this note Duchesne and Jaffé had assigned June as the month of John's consecration, and December as that of his death. But, besides what has been said in the text, it is clear from a diploma that he was no longer Pope in December. *Cf.* No 28 in Hartmann's ed of *Eccles. S. Mariæ in Via Lata Tabularium*, Vienna, 1895.

[2] In some old documents he is called John XVI. Cf. *Chron. Suevicum*, an. 1004, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xiii. But, as the text will show, he was known as John XVII. even to contemporaries.

[3] "Johannes, qui dicebatur Sicco (al. Cico), natione Romanus, de regione Bivcretica (al. Hiberatica)" *L. P.*, ii p. 265.

[4] *Ib.*, p 45, n 88.

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[1] According to another catalogue (*L. P.*, ii. p. 265) John belonged to the region *Sancti Clementi* (sic). That is the reason, no doubt, why Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv. p. i. p. 7, n. 1, says that the R. Biberatica is to be looked for in the R. Montium, the old second region. If the R. Biberatica included the Church of St. Clement and was identical with a R. S. Clementis, then it must also have embraced part of the old third region (Isis and Serapis).

[2] Gregorovius, *Rome*, vi. 727.

[3] *Ib.*, iv. 620.

[4] *Ib.*, vii. 780.

Still Pope in September 1003

Though we know nothing of the actions of John XVII., not even of his election—unless perhaps that he was a mere nominee of Crescentius[1]—a recently published document proves, at any rate, that he was still Pope in the month of September. In the cartulary of the monastery of SS. Cosmas and Damian *in Mica Aurea*,[2] published by Fedele, there is a document[3] by which the abbot of the monastery leased a homestead to John de Iannia in the first year of our lord John XVII., the supreme and universal bishop, the ninth day of September.

Tomb.

John died, as we have said, on November 6, and was buried in the Lateran basilica between two of the doors of the principal façade. According to John the Deacon, who furnishes us with this information, his epitaph began by stating that "here is the tomb of the supreme John, who is said to be Pope, for so was he called."[4]

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[1] For he was still Patricius and is called by Thietmar (*Chron*, vii. 51) "the destroyer of the apostolic see."

[2] In the Trastevere. It is conjectured that Mica aurea may be the same as Montorio, which is thought by some to get its name from the yellow sand there found But it is almost certain that Montorio is a corruption of *Mons Aureus*, a name given to the Vatican Hill from its nearness to the Via Aurelia.

[3] No xx. ap *Archiv. della R. Soc. Rom*, t. xxii. 1899, p 25. "Anno propitio pontificatus domini nostri Johanni summi pontifici et universali septime decimi papæ, in sacratissima sede b Petri ap primo, indictione secunda, mense september, diæ nona." The case endings of the above should be noticed.

[4] "Cernitur hic tumulus qui præsul dicitur esse
Summi Johannis, sic quoque dictus erat."

Ap. *P. L.*, t 194, p 1551 The somewhat ambiguous cast of these lines

Though he reigned for so short a time, his relations did not forget that they had had a Pope in their family. Three of them, brothers—viz. John, bishop of Preneste, Peter, a deacon, and Andrew, secundicerius—had it proclaimed in their epitaph, which was erected in St. Prassede in 1040, that they were of the family of Pope Sicco.[1]

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has induced certain writers to tamper with them, and then, without real reason, to apply them to the antipope John XVI. *Cf.* Watterich, *Vita PP. P.*, i. 88. Pagi, *Brev. Gest. R. P.*, maintains it ought to terminate : "Siccoque dictus erat."

[1] "Avi cretos Siconis sanguine papæ," ap. *L. P.*, ii. 265.

The Lateran Palace, etc.

JOHN XVIII.

A.D. 1003–1009.

Sources.—Fourteen letters and diplomas, ap. *P. L.*, t. 139.

John Phasanus.

ALTHOUGH John XVIII. reigned for as many years as his predecessor reigned months, not very much more is known about him than about John XVII. John Phasanus (Cock),[1] who seems to have become Pope on Christmas Day 1003,[2] was a Roman, the son of Stephania and the priest Ursus. He belonged "to the region in the neighbourhood of the Metrovian Gate." If that gate really were in the locality usually assigned to it, he was born in the first region of Augustus, viz. the region of the *Porta Capena* in the south-east corner of the city. And, as the first ecclesiastical region apparently included both the twelfth and the first civil regions, he was born in the first region in either the ecclesiastical or civil signification of that term. He is also stated to have been the cardinal "of St. Peter's,"[1] *i.e.*, presumably St. Peter's *ad vincula*, which was one of the titular churches.[2]

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[1] "Johannes Phasan, id est gallus." Thiet., *Chron.*, vi. 61. "Johannes qui et Fasanus (Phasanus)," *Chron. Suevicum*, ad an. 1006.

[2] "Silvester papa obiit, et Joannes sublimatur. Qui paulo post moritur, et alter Joannes fit papa in die natalis Domini." Ann. Benevent., ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii. 177.

From his epitaph and from the little that is known of the doings of John XVIII., it is clear that, though, no doubt the nominee of the Patrician, he was learned and pious, and of an amiable and conciliatory disposition. And if, by "the destroyer of the apostolic see,"[3] he was not permitted to take any part in the political events which were in progress—not allowed, for instance, to do anything to support Henry II. in his campaign (1004) against Ardoin[4]—he was yet able to effect a considerable amount of good; and that not only in the spiritual order but even in the industrial. He was evidently a man of commercial instincts. "By his apostolical benediction," certain salt works—no doubt salt-pits whence by evaporation salt was procured from sea-water[5]—were newly constructed at a place in the district of Porto known as the "Cursed Pool" (Stagnellum maledictum). Where precisely that was does not seem to be known. Burn will not trouble to mention "the numerous lagunes and marshy spots upon the coast" in this region, "since they are generally dried up in the summer, and their situations and extent vary from time to time." However, the great salt lake near Ostia is never dry and in part of it "on the north side of the road from Rome to Ostia . . . . are numerous salt-pits. . . . In the time of the Etruscan kingdom there were also other salt-pits on the right bank of the Tiber."[1] Somewhere, then, in this salt-bearing district near Porto, the Roman Church possessed the "Cursed Pool" and its salt-pits. Half of this locality—to be, said the Pope, henceforth known as the "Blessed Pool"—and half the income arising therefrom John granted to Benedict, bishop of Porto and his successors for ever.

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[1] *Cf.* catal., ap. *L. P.*

[2] From the fact that, contrary to the usual custom, neither *ad vincula* nor *in Eudoxia* is added to the St. Peter's, Duchesne (*ib.*, ii. 266) conjectures that John may here be called cardinal of St. Peter's from being connected in some special way with the services of the Vatican basilica, and he compares a decree of John XIX. (1026) giving, or confirming, to the cardinal-bishops of Silva Candida special rights in connection with functions at St. Peter's or the Vatican.

[3] Crescentius "destructor apostolicæ sedis." Thiet., *Chron.*, vii. 51.

[4] Of this we shall speak under Benedict VIII.

[5] "Ubi nunc per ap. bened. salinarum fila noviter construuntur," Ep. 5, ap. *P. L.*, p. 1482. Du Cange (*sub. v.*) translates *fila* as a certain extent of land (terræ spatium); but, both from the examples he gives himself, and especially from the one just given, it is clear that the *filæ* or *fila* were constructions of some kind, *i.e.* salt-pits.

Close of a schism with the East.

Ever since the time when the city by the Golden Horn became the capital of the civilised world, and its bishops became the companions of emperors and thus imbibed imperial views, the patriarchs of Constantinople rebelled against the idea of their having any superiors in the ecclesiastical order. They pushed themselves in front of the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria in spite of their centuries of precedence; and, while acknowledging the Pope to be the Head of the Church, they aspired to be his equal. If the Pope was bishop of Old Rome, the patriarch of Constantinople was bishop of New Rome. And if, strong in the feeling of right derived from the Rock of Peter, the bishop of Rome cut off from the Church's communion a Byzantine patriarch for heresy, the latter, confident in the power of the "divine" emperors, set the Pope's action at defiance and, in his turn, struck off from the sacred diptychs the name of the reigning pontiff. At first the schisms between the East and the West sprang out of grave matters. Arianism, Monothelism, Iconoclasm, and other important questions had been the cause of the five schisms—lasting, if added together, over two hundred years—which had occurred during the five hundred and odd years which had elapsed between the consecration of New Rome (330) and the accession of Photius (857). But, following the example of this heresiarch, the patriarchs of Constantinople continued to introduce childish causes of quarrel between the East and the West—questions of fasting on particular days of the week, of leavened and unleavened bread, of the singing of Alleluia at certain seasons, and the like. And, as the day of the final separation between the Churches of the two continents drew nigh, there were repeated breaches of communion between Rome and Constantinople for trifling reasons, of which, for that very reason among others, we know little. It was with the two Churches, as with two men engaged in mortal combat, clashing of arms, feints, and slight wounds, precede the mortal thrust. It is of the consequences of a slight wound that we have to speak in connection with John XVIII.

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[1] *Rome and the Campagna*, p. 353. He quotes Livy, vii. 17.

In the thirteenth century a patriarch of Constantinople, John Veccos,[1] was convinced that there had been "profound peace" between Rome and Constantinople between the time of the patriarchs Photius and Cerularius. But what has now to be related will show that he was somewhat mistaken. Under the patriarch Sisinnius II. (996–99), a breach of unity for some unknown cause had occurred between the two sees. John applied himself to close it up.[2] His labours were not in vain. He found means at last to smooth away all irritation; and before he died his name was placed on the diptychs of the East, and he was publicly prayed for in the Mass. Of all this we have the unexceptional evidence[1] of Peter, patriarch of Antioch. Writing (1054) to the patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cerularius—who, bent on bringing about a rupture between the East and the West, had reproached him with undue regard for the Roman pontiffs—he pointed out that their immediate predecessors both at Antioch and Constantinople itself, had offered prayer in public for the Popes: "With many other distinguished men in the Church I am a witness to whom no exception can be taken that, in the time of the lord John, patriarch of Antioch, of blessed memory (997–1009), the Pope of Rome, who was also called John, was named in the sacred diptychs. Nay more, when I was at Constantinople five and forty years ago, (1009) in the time of the lord Sergius (II., 999–1019), patriarch of blessed memory, I found that the aforesaid Pope was commemorated in the Divine Liturgy (Holy Mass, ἐν τῇ θείᾳ μυσταγωγίᾳ) with the other patriarchs. But how and why commemoration of him was excised (ἐξεκόπη), I am utterly ignorant." Knowing nothing further on this matter, I too must leave it where Peter of Antioch left it some nine hundred years ago. But, before the end of the century with which we are now dealing, the quarrels great and small between the Churches of the East and the West will have culminated in their final separation and lasting enmity.

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[1] *De injusta sui depositione Orat.*, ii. 2.

[2] His epitaph says:

"Nam Graios superans, eois partibus unam
Schismata pellendo reddidit ecclesiam."

Fulk Nerra, and his monastery of Beaulieu.

Of more immediate interest to us Englishmen were the relations of the Pope with England and with Fulk Nerra (the Black), count of Anjou and one of the ancestors of our own King Henry II. of Anjou.[2] Unfortunately, all we know about his dealings with England is that he bestowed the pallium on Aelfeah,[1] archbishop of Canterbury, who, according to custom, journeyed to Rome to receive it. We have, however, more to say about the dread Fulk Nerra, a man typical of the barbarous age in which he lived. He was in the habit of passing from the performance of deeds worthy of a demon to those which would do honour to a saint. Among other actions with which the redoubtable Fulk is credited, on, however, anything but satisfactory authority,[2] is a promise made in Rome to deliver Pope Sergius IV. from Crescentius. That Fulk may indeed have made such an engagement is not impossible[3]; and, in any case, the story is a strange foreshadowing of the actual rescuing of the Papacy of the thirteenth century from the aggressions of Manfred, a successor of the power of Crescentius, by Charles of Anjou. To leave doubtful promises for solid facts, Raoul Glaber tells[4] us how Fulk, "struck with the fear of hell" on account of the blood he had shed, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (1002–1003) On his return (1004), he "for a while mitigated his natural ferocity." Whilst in this comparatively pious frame of mind, he determined to found an abbey wherein monks might pray for his soul both by day and by night. Accordingly, fixing on a site near his castle of Loches—a no mean commencement of that strong fortress which was rendered so terribly notorious by the cruelties of Louis XI., and of which the massive ruins still frown down on the little town beneath—he there erected a monastery with a most beautiful church. To this day are still to be seen at Beaulieu a medieval church and the remains of an abbey which tell of their first founder, the Black Fulk, and of our countrymen who, to a great extent, destroyed them in the cruel Hundred Years' War. When the buildings were completed, the first thing that Fulk did was to ensure it as far as possible from men like himself. He asked Pope John to take it under his patronage and protection; and, as it would seem, in the last year of that Pope's reign (1009), a bull was issued (couched in the customary terms), granting the request "of the most noble and the most strenuous count Fulk."[1] The *privilege* was granted, as usual, that the monastery might "enjoy peace under the right and protection of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and of the bishops of this their see for ever."

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[1] Ep. (or λόγος) Petri Ant. ad Mich. Cerular., ap. Will, *Acta et Scripta de controv. eccles. Græcæ et Lat.*, p. 192.

[2] *Cf.* c. ii. ("The Beginnings of Anjou") of Miss Norgate's *England under the Angevin Kings.*

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[1] *A. S Chron.*, ad an 1007. He granted it also to Meingaud of Trèves, Jaffé, 3957 (3026).

[2] *Gesta consulum Andegavorum*, in the *Rec des histor. de France*, t. x. p. 100 ff Much, if not all, that is here said of Fulk is obviously legendary.

[3] There is no reason why Miss Norgate (*ib.*, i. p. 195) should think in this connection of the Crescentius "who was killed in 997." The "destroyer of the apostolic see," as Thietmar calls another Crescentius, was the oppressor of Sergius IV.

[4] *Hist.*, ii. c. 4.

Fulk next asked the archbishop of Tours (Hugh) to come and consecrate the new church. But he was promptly told that he must first restore what he had taken from the archdiocese. All his old fury again took possession of him. He uttered all manner of dire threats against the archbishop; and, determined not to be baulked, betook himself to Rome with large sums of money, and laid his case before Pope *John*, as Glaber[2] says. Comparing, however, what he goes on to say about the appointment of Cardinal Peter with the bulls of Sergius IV., and not forgetful of the "Crescentius story," it appears that it was really to the latter Pope that Fulk addressed himself. He made over the monastery in the usual way to Sergius,[1] who in return engaged to send Peter, bishop of Piperno,[2] to consecrate the church, if Hugh should still refuse to do so. At this Hugh was very indignant. It was a shame, he said, that he who sat in the chair of the Apostle should be the first to break the decrees of the Apostle; for it had long before been laid down that no bishop was to presume to act in this way in the diocese of another without his consent.[3] And Glaber, who informs us of these views of Hugh and his fellow bishops, proceeds to repeat the same on his own account.[4] But the precocious monk was apparently ignorant of some at least of the facts of the case. With these we are supplied by Sergius's most interesting *privilegium pro monasterio Bellilocensi.* On receiving the Pope's message, Hugh made straight for Rome, and boldly asked him why he wished to take away from him the right of consecrating a monastery which was situated in his own diocese. Thereupon the Pope summoned a council (April 14, 1012) of bishops, cardinals, clergy, Roman judges and nobles. Among those present was the archbishop of Lyons, Peter, bishop of Præneste, "and librarian of the sacred palace," several *judices dativi*, the primicerius of the defensors, the papal chamberlain, and others. The proceedings were opened by Benedict, bishop of Porto. In the name of canon and civil law, he asked that the right of consecration should not be taken away from the archbishop. To this, in the Pope's name, a *judex dativus* replied that Fulk had handed over to the Pope the monastery which he had himself built on his own land, and that, consequently, as owner, the right of its consecration belonged to the Pope.[1] Against this principle Hugh had nothing to urge. He acknowledged himself in the wrong; and, with the symbol of handing the Pope a little rod, made over the monastery to him, for his own part, just as Fulk had done. Accordingly, in the month of May of the same year, the church was duly consecrated by Peter of Piperno, the Pope's legate. But when, during the same afternoon, a sudden storm stripped off its roof, some saw in the accident a divine indication that the Pope had exceeded his powers.[2] Fulk, however, simply repaired the damage and completed his undertaking.

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[1] Ap. *P.L.*, t. 139, p. 1491. Miss Norgate remarks that Fulk dedicated his minster "*not* to saint or angel," but to the "Most Holy Trinity Itself." She should have said to both. *Cf.* Glaber, *ib.*, and the papal bull: "Fulco innotuit nobis se monasterium in nomine et honore S. et individ. Trinitatis . . . atque similiter in honore cælestium agminum, super quæ Deus assidet, hoc est Cherubim et Seraphim."

[2] "Johanni pape causam sue profectionis exposuit ac . . . . plurima ei munerum dona obtulit."

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[1] "Monasterium . . . . S. Petro tradidit ac nostræ donationi (sic, dominationi?) successorumque nostrorum in perpetuo jure submisit: quem locum ego . . . . quemdam nostrum suffraganeum episcopum illuc direxi, ut ipsum monasterium vice S. Petri ac nostra sacraret ac benediceret." Bull of Sergius (1012), ap *P.L.*, t. 139, p. 1527; *cf.* the other bull on the same subject, *ib.*, p. 1525

[2] By a second mistake Glaber calls him a cardinal: "unum ex illis quos in B. Petri ecclesia cardinales vocant"

[3] *Ib.*

[4] "Licet namque pontifex Romane ecclesie ob dignitatem apostolice sedis ceteris in orbe constitutis reverentior habeatur, non tamen ei licet transgredi in aliquo canonici moderaminis tenorem," etc. *L.c.*

The authenticity of the papal bulls regarding Beaulieu.

In this account of Fulk Nerra's monastery of Beaulieu, it has been taken for granted that the bulls of John XVIII. and Sergius IV. which have been cited are genuine. Till quite recently they have always been so regarded. Halphen has, however, it would seem, demonstrated that the said bulls, *as they have come down to us at least*, are not authentic.[3] It would appear that most of the archives of Beaulieu were destroyed in the fifteenth century, and that the bulls in question, besides being acknowledged to be only modern copies, exhibit various deviations from the customary formularies of the Roman Church. However, as there can be no doubt that bulls on the subject of Fulk's foundation were issued by the papal chancery, it is perhaps safer to conclude that the documents which we now possess, if not strictly in accordance with the original bulls, were compiled from fragments of the destroyed archives or from other records, and hence are substantially authentic. In the main they serve to throw light on known facts, and not to controvert them; and so it may be asserted that the story which we have told with their help is in general accord with the truth.

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[1] "Unum scio tantum, quia cujus est hæreditas, ipsius et consecratio." Bull of Sergius, *l.c.*, p. 1526.

[2] Glaber, *l.c.*

[3] *Le comté d'Anjou au XI^e^ siècle*, p. 83 ff., p. 219 ff. (Paris, 1906). Halphen (p. 351) gives the charter by which Fulk endowed the monastery (id est Belliloci quem ipse construxi), in order that the monks might be able to live in peace (ut semper quieti vivere valeant), and for the sake of his own salvation and that of his parents.

Albert of Mici

If we go on to speak of the affairs of another monastery, pardon will perhaps be accorded us: first because practically all we know of John XVIII. is his work in connection with monasteries; and then because the document we purpose to quote is a further proof, on the one hand of the rapacity and insecurity of the age, and on the other, of its piety and trust in the protection of the Popes. For to them, even in these dark times, as we have noted so frequently, did men turn from all parts of the world.[1]

Not far from Orleans, at the confluence of the Loire and the Loiret, stood the abbey of Mici, or of St. Mesmin, in which it may be remembered that Gerbert had a correspondent. According to the letter to be quoted immediately, it had been founded in the time of Clovis, the first Christian king of the Franks. It had gradually increased in wealth and importance, and had then been plundered. It was now, as we shall see, regaining something of its old standing, and its abbot was anxious that it should not fall back into its state of decay. He, therefore, begged the patronage of the Pope. "To the holy lord and venerable Pope, John XVIII., Albert, the abbot and all the monks of Mici wish health in Christ. We know, revered father, that in Peter's stead you have been constituted Vicar of the Universal Church to be the support of the oppressed and, by the authority of Peter, the terror of the oppressor. Wherefore, by this letter, we fly to your reverence, and beg you to help us, and to grant our petition. . . . Our monastery was once so flourishing in spiritual and temporal prosperity that in it one hundred and forty monks served God assiduously. Then was it so plundered by wicked men that not a single monk was able to live here. Now by the mercy of Christ . . . . it is gradually recovering by the alms of good men and women, especially by those of the lady Regina who has done much for it for her own salvation's sake, and for the repose of the souls of her husband and children. She is afraid, however, that after her death some of her relations or others may attempt to wrest from us some of the property she has granted us. Hence, may we suggest to your holiness that you should confirm and sign two documents which we have drawn up in your name? The first sets forth the lands given us by this venerable lady; and the other, all the property of our monastery. We in turn will pray earnestly for you both in your life and death. For it is fitting, venerable father, that you follow in the footsteps of your predecessors, and confirm, especially by threat of excommunication, new charters for monasteries, so that the monks, away from all the noise of the world, may be able to serve God in peace."[1] It is always so in these fierce and terrible times. Monks ask for papal protection, and the Popes grant it that there may be places where men may live and serve God

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[1] *Cf.* John's bull "pro eccles. S. Mariæ Isergensi" (ap. *P. L*, p 1480) "Cum plurima negotiorum genera ad sedem Romanam ex diversis mundi partibus deferantur," etc.

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[1] Ep. 13, ap. epp. Abbonis, *P.L.*, t. 139.

"in quiet." Living under the *pax Britannica*, we cannot realise with what eagerness very many men must have longed for monastic peace, and done all in their power to secure it in times when an ever-ready sword was the only means of ensuring life and property. We may be sure that what John did for the neighbouring monastery of St. Florence of Saumur,[1] and for many others in Rome itself, in France, and in Italy, he did for Abbot Albert of Mici.

Fulco of Orleans and Gauzlin of Fleury

Not unfrequently, however, vexation on the part of the bishops that their powers were curtailed by these privileges, and perhaps at times an unnecessary flaunting of them in their faces by untactful abbots, caused serious trouble Fulco, bishop of Orleans (1008–1012), paid a visit to the famous monastery of Fleury unasked. Driven away by violence, because, it was said, he was violating the immunities granted the abbey by Rome, Fulco in a fury called a council, and threatened to burn all its papal bulls.[2]

Information of his conduct was at once sent to Rome, and John wrote to King Robert to say that he had been told that he honoured the Churches of God. If so, he must honour their head. Now, he had heard, he went on to say, that some of the bishops of his kingdom had declared that they would take no further notice of the successors of St. Peter. In addition, we know that the Pope sent the bishop of Piperno to France to inquire into the matter,[1] and special letters[2] to the archbishop of Sens, and to other bishops, as well as to Gauzlin, instructing them to come to Rome about the affair, but it does not appear how it ended.

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[1] Jaffé, 3942 (3014). Originally founded by Charlemagne, this monastery of St. Florence had been freed from the obligation of tax-paying by his son Louis. The papal bull tells of the monastery, "Omnis fiscalis exactionis vel cujuscunque legalis seu officiariæ pensionis, simul etiam synodalis debiti omnium ecclesiarum, quæ ipsi monasterio subjacent, immunitate ditatum." It is interesting to note that some are of opinion that the bull issued by this Pope in favour of the church of Paderborn (*ib.* 3947, al 3020) is the first instance of the use of parchment instead of papyrus by the papal chancellary.

[2] *Vita Gauzlin.*, c. 12, ap *Neues Archiv*, 1878, iii 351 ff

Supports the policy of Henry II.

Other bulls of John XVIII. show him supporting the internal policy of Henry II., the Saint or the Lame, who, as we have seen, succeeded Otho III. to the crown of Germany. In the lifelong struggle that Henry endured to prevent the complete annihilation of the royal power by the rapidly increasing independence which the growth of feudalism was giving to the great nobles, he followed the example of the Othos and added to the influence of the church. To this the "Vicar of God," as Thietmar calls[3] his king, was moved perhaps quite as much by motives of piety as of policy. As a counterpoise to the power of the nobility, he revived the see of Merseburg, which had been suppressed and parcelled out under Otho II. (981),[4] and founded that of Bamberg. To facilitate the carrying out of these schemes Henry procured the presence of a papal legate, and the elevation of an adherent (Tagino) to the archiepiscopal see of Magdeburg[5] (1004). With the consent of his "most beloved Tagino who readily granted all he wished," Henry had no difficulty in reconstituting the see of Merseburg. The consent of the Pope, his own funds, and compensation made to Henry, bishop of Wurzburg, enabled him to establish the see of

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[1] *Vita Gauzlin.*, c. 14. It is quite possible that this mission of Peter of Piperno was also connected with the quarrel between Fulk Nerra and the archbishop of Tours regarding the consecration of the church of Beaulieu *Cf. supra*, p. 133.

[2] *Ib*, cc. 15, 16, 17.

[3] *Chron.*, vi 8.

[4] Jaffé, *sub* 3807 (2914).

[5] *Cf.* Thiet., *Chron.*, v. 26, "Tagino . . . . consecratus est presente rege ac Romano nuncio." *Cf. ib.*, vi. 1 and vi. 61, and *Chron Epp Merseburg.*, ap *M. G. SS.*, x.

Bamberg. The circumstances of the foundation of this see, which we shall give from the papal bull, are most interesting. Just like the history above rehearsed of the founding of Beaulieu, they afford us another proof of how papal overlordship of property was being established all over Europe by princes just as much as by bishops and monks.

The see of Bamberg.

"John, bishop, servant of the servants of God" writes: "It is part of our duty to see generally to the well-being of all the holy churches of God, but especially of those which are in an especial way under the power and dominion of our Roman Church[1] . . . Hence we wish it to be known to all the faithful that our spiritual son Henry, most glorious and unconquerable king, has, from his own resources for the good of his own soul and of those of his relatives, founded a bishopric in a place known as Babenberk (Bamberg). He has established it in honour of the most blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, after having duly made compensation to Henry of Würzburg for the loss of part of his diocese. Hence that bishop has written to let us know that by a bull of our apostolical authority the new bishopric may be founded with his consent." John proceeds to say he approves and confirms what has been done, and forbids any interference therewith. "Let that bishopric be free and safe from all external power, subject only to the Roman *mundiburdium*[2] (protection). It must, however, be submissive (*subjectus*) and obedient to its metropolitan, the archbishop of Mayence" Later on, Henry made over the see more specifically to Benedict VIII. when he was in Bamberg (May 1020), and in sign thereof the bishops of Bamberg had every year to give the Pope a white horse properly caparisoned,[1] or in its stead "twelve marks of good silver." We shall see Leo IX. renouncing his rights, with the exception of the horse, in connection with Bamberg for a grant of jurisdiction over Beneventum.

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[1] "Et maxime earum quæ specialiter sub jure ac dominio nostræ R. ecclesiæ consistunt." Ep 10, ap *P. L.*, t. 139, p 1487.

[2] On this word see vol. i. p. ii p 160 of this work

In founding this bishopric, Henry had also in view not only the spread of Christianity but of German influence. The Slavs had largely overrun this part of his kingdom; and he hoped that what Otho's bishoprics of Meissen, Merseburg, and Magdeburg had accomplished further north, Bamberg would effect for the east It would then serve as another curb on the turbulence of the nobles, and destroy at once both the paganism and the power of the Slavs.

Death of John XVIII., 1009.

The reign of John was embittered not only by the oppression of Crescentius but by famine and plague,[2] and by the Saracens, who, swooping down from Sardinia, ravaged the Italian coast from Pisa to Rome.[3] Death put an end to all John's trials in the year 1009, about the month of July according to the general opinion.[4] It did not, however, find him on the chair of Peter. Weary of the struggle, he had retired from the world, and met his end as a simple monk in the monastery of St. Paul outside-the-walls.[5] There, taken from the adjoining basilica, a commemorative tablet of his may still be seen: Doms

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[1] *Cf.* the bull of Benedict VIII., ap. *P. L.*, t. 139, p. 1624, and *Vita Meinwerci*, c 24. Hence, in the *Liber Censuum*, we read (ed. Fabre, pp. 161–2), "In episcopatu Pambergensi qui est Domini Pape. Episcopus ipse palafredum album cum sella vel 12 marcas boni argenti."

[2] *Cf. Annal Sangall. Maj.*, ad an. 1007, ap. *M. G. SS.*, i. *Ann. Hildesh.*, an. 1006; and Alpert of Metz (*De Diversitate Temp.*, i., c. 6, ap. *P. L.*, t. 140), who wrote about 1021.

[3] *Chron. Pisana*, an. 1002, etc, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi. p. 167 See *infra*, under Benedict VIII.

[4] Provana, however, brings forward a document, the date of which, if correct, would prove that John was still alive in November. *Ardoino*, p. 251, n.

[5] *L. P.*

Johs XVIII. Papa.[1] But it would appear that he was buried in St. Peter's. At any rate, a formal epitaph was erected to him in that basilica. Baronius quotes it from Maffeo Vegio, who, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, wrote a description of old St. Peter's just before its destruction.[2] It sets forth how, dear to God and man, John there awaited the resurrection; how, learned in sacred love, he scattered its seed everywhere; how he put a term to a schism with the Greeks; and how all who visit St. Peter's are entreated to pray for his soul.

. . . .

"Quam solers Domino placuit, quam mente modesta
  Præsul Apostolicus, orbis et omne decus.
Hic statuit tumulo claudi sua membra sub isto,
  Hæc eadem sperans ut sibi reddat humus.
Ardua qui fulsit cunctis per sidera cœli
  Augustis charus, gentibus et tribibus.
Doctrinis comptus sacris et dogmate clarus,
  Per patrias sancta semina fudit ovans.
Nam Graios superans, eois patribus unam
  Schismata pellendo reddidit ecclesiam.
Principis hinc Petri sed quisquis tendis ad aulam,
  Dic supplex: Isdem regnet ut arce poli."[3]

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[1] *L. P.*

[2] Gregorovius, *Rome*, vii. 606, 642.

[3] Ap. Watterich, i. p. 89.

SERGIUS IV.

A.D. 1009–1012.

Sources.—Sixteen documents, mostly *privileges*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 139, p. 1500 f.

Political position of Sergius.

WHETHER or not Sergius was placed on the Papal throne by the influence of John Crescentius, one thing at least is clear in the midst of the obscurity of the first decade of the eleventh century. He contrived to stem the power of the Patricius, and to strengthen the party who were anxious for the coming of the German emperors in order that the tyranny of the petty barons of Rome might be thoroughly crushed. Hence it is that Sergius and his successor are both said by Thietmar[1] to have done much towards the consolidation of the imperial party in the city. Still, if he accomplished this by playing into the hands of the counts of Tusculum, he only drove out one evil by introducing another and a greater. The action of the counts of Tusculum on the Papacy was worse than that of the Crescentii, even though the first Pope of their making was the great Pope Benedict VIII. At any rate, for good or for evil, the latter tyrants never again attained to paramount importance in Rome. Sergius survived by a few weeks the last of the Crescentii who, in his day, was the first man in the city of the Popes.

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[1] *Chron.*, vi. 61. "Præclari et consolidatores nostri."

Early career of Sergius.

Before he was raised to the chair of Peter, Sergius, who previous to his final elevation had borne the name of the Prince of the Apostles, had for five years (1004–1009) governed the see of Albano.[1] We may take it as a mark of his ability that he had risen to this eminence though only the son of a shoemaker, who, like his son, quite prophetically also bore the name of Peter.[2] His mother had apparently the same name (Stephania) as his predecessor's. The nickname of *Pig's Snout*,[3] given to him in contemporary documents, may also possibly serve to show the lowly origin of this "noble Roman." Like Clement III[4] (1187–1191) he belonged to the region then known as Pina,[5] but to-day as Pigna, and now and for many centuries past reckoned as the ninth region. At least from the sixteenth century to the present time it has designated the locality in the neighbourhood of S. Marco,[6] S. Maria sopra Minerva, and the Pantheon.[7] And when it is noted that the Pantheon was in the ninth region (Circus Flaminius) of Augustus, there will probably not be anyone who will not pause to reflect on the extraordinary permanence of local associations in Rome.

The Crusades.

During the pontificate of Sergius IV. Western Europe was profoundly moved by the news that, in accordance with the orders of the demoniacal Fatimite Caliph of Egypt, El-Hakim (996–1021), the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem had been levelled to the ground (1010).[1] According to Raoul Glaber, who has always something wonderful to tell us, the caliph was moved to this action by the Jews. They suborned a vagrant monk to carry letters to the "Prince of Babylon," as Raoul is pleased to call the caliph, in which they informed him that, unless he destroyed "the venerable house of the Christians," he would lose both his sceptre and his kingdom at their hands. The consequent destruction of the basilica, and the spreading of the news that it had been caused by the Jews, brought about a general persecution of them, and an episcopal mandate prohibiting Christians from having any kind of dealing with them.[2] The monk closes his narrative of this event by assuring us that when it became known that the caliph's mother (Mary), who was a Christian, had begun to restore the church of the Holy Sepulchre, crowds flocked to Jerusalem, carrying with them splendid offerings for its rebuilding.[3] Despite a large admixture of the fabulous in this narrative, it is clear that the Christians of the West were deeply agitated by the news from Jerusalem; and it may very well be that Sergius IV. anticipated the action of Gregory VII. and Urban II. in an attempt to hurl the united Latin nations on the Moslem. If Lair has successfully vindicated the authenticity of the bull discovered by him—and some think he has completely done so in his last book[1]—then Sergius addressed an encyclical to all Catholics, to kings and to bishops, to abbots and to all the clergy, to dukes and to counts, to old and to young. He told them that word had been brought to him of the destruction of the church of the Lord's sepulchre; and how he wished that all would go in arms to Syria to restore it; and, that with the help of the people of every land, the Italians, the Venetians, and the Genoese would equip a thousand ships to take them thither. He would have all give either their services or their gold.[2] Whether, however, Sergius ever penned such a document or not, it is clear that the idea that "the armies of the West should fall upon the Saracen" had taken root. Nourished by Gregory VII., it was to bear fruit a hundredfold before the century had drawn to its close. The coming of the great event of the Crusades had already cast its huge shadow over Latin Christendom

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[1] *Cf* his epitaph.

[2] The document (*Cod. Mus. Brit.*, 14801, written towards the close of the eleventh century) which tells us of the occupation of Sergius's father, gives his name as *Peruncio*; but the Pope's epitaph agrees with other catalogues in giving Peter as the father's name, "Sergius ex Petro."

[3] Bucca Porci (Thiet., vi 61); Os Porci (*Catals.*, ap *L P*).

[4] "De regione Pinee," *Ann. Rom.*, ap. *L P*, ii. 349.

[5] "De regione Allapina," *Cod. Brit.*, ap. *ib*, 267.

[6] Hence in the twelfth century it was known as Pinee et S. Marci.

[7] Gregorovius, *Rome*, vii. 757 f.

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[1] For the particulars of his reign see *A History of Egypt*, by S. Lane-Poole, p. 123 f.

[2] Glaber concludes that the animosity of the Christians was calmed by Divine Providence in order that Jews might still be left on the earth to testify to the death of our Lord. "Et quoniam oportet; quamvis ad illorum confusionem, ut ex illis aliqui in futurum supersint, vel ad confirmandum proprium nefas seu ad testimonium fusi sanguinis Christi, idcirco vero credimus Christianorum animositatem, divina dispensante providentia, in eis ad tempus mansuevisse." *Hist.*, iii. 7.

[3] *Ib.*, Ademar of Chabannes, *Chron.*, iii. 47, also narrates these events, affirming that the Jews told the caliph, "Exercitus Occidentalium super Sarracenos orientales commotos esse." With regard to the rebuilding of the church of the Holy Sepulchre we find, as a matter of fact, two Greek emperors, Constantine VIII. (1027) and Michael IV. (1037–1038), negociating for its re-erection. *Cf.* Poole, *Egypt*, p. 136, and Finlay, *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 468, who gives 1048 as the date of the completion of the new church.

Privileges.

It is with Sergius IV. as with so many other Popes of the period of which we are now treating; we know little more about him save that he granted certain privileges. Some points, however, in those conceded by Sergius IV. are worth noting. Though, for the most part, drawn up on the same lines as those of his predecessors, there may be observed in them a greater tendency to extend the concession of spiritual exemptions. In the main it is temporal immunity that papal privileges have hitherto granted; *i.e.*, by these documents the Popes have been in the habit of agreeing to take certain places or persons under their protection, and in token thereof have exacted from the protected a more or less nominal annual tax or rent. In the case of monasteries, for instance, for which the greater number of the privileges were issued, the Pope guaranteed them protection from any external oppression on the part of the powerful, whether in church or state, and also the right of freedom of choice in the election of their abbots, and, in general, such internal freedom as was necessary for proper monastic peace and quiet. He had not, however, as a rule, withdrawn the protected monasteries from the authority of the local diocesan. He had not, speaking generally, interfered with his rights of visitation and inspection. But, of course, with the natural tendency of privileges and exemptions to grow, the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishop over the monastery was unfortunately gradually undermined. The concessions granted by Sergius IV. helped forward the movement which resulted in so many monasteries securing complete exemption from all local control, whether spiritual or temporal. To two monasteries in Catalonia[1] he gave the privileges of having their clerics ordained by any bishop they chose, of procuring the sacred chrism from any see, of being free from all liability of being placed under an interdict by any bishop whatsoever, of being able to admit to divine service any excommunicated but penitent person as long as he remained within their walls, and finally, of sending their clerics to synods, or withholding them from them at will. To other[1] monasteries he granted even more than the above-named spiritual exemptions, to others,[2] again, not quite so many. No doubt, in the days of bishops, baronial both by blood and by their violent habits, it was necessary to grant monasteries these exemptions in order to preserve discipline therein. But events proved that what was the boon of one age was the bane of the next. It was the acquisition of spiritual exemption which finally led to the ruin of many a monastic house.

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[1] *Bulle du pape Sergius IV; lettres de Gerbert.* Paris, Picard, 1899. *Cf. Revue des Quest. Hist.*, April 1900, p. 674

[2] Jaffé, 3972. The letter for the Greek emperor (*ib.* 3984), which Sergius entrusted to Fulk Nerra of Anjou, if not on the subject of the schism, may also possibly have been in this connection

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[1] Ep. 4 to Oliva, abbot of St. Michael of Cuxan, and ep. 5 to the same "abbati S. Mariæ dominæ nostræ monasterii quod situm est in comitatu Ausonæ in valle Rivipollensis inter duo flumina." In both these bulls a minute description of the property of the two monasteries is given; the former had possessions even in the county of Toulouse, in the province of Narbonne, etc. The latter monastery of Our Lady of Ripoll, figures in the *Liber Censuum* as owing a yearly rent of three golden *marabutini* to the Roman See. *Cf.* pp. 16 and 215, ed. Fabre. The *marabutinus* is thought to be a coin of Arab origin, and to have received its name from the dynasty of the Morabeth or Marbouth of Morocco. Account-books of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries

For various reasons are the bulls of Sergius IV. interesting. Of some the papyrus originals still exist.[3] Others give us an insight into the reason why the papal protection was sought, and into its practical value. One document sets forth, for instance, that papal confirmation is granted to the foundation of the parish church of St. Michael, in connection with the famous monastery of Nonantula (north-east of Modena), at the request of the people, who were anxious that the money they had for years subscribed for their church and its endowment might not fall into the

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show that the *marabutinus* was then worth nine sous tournois and three deniers. *Ib.*, p. 7 n.

[1] Ep 8. The monastery of Arles-sur-Tech (Arulense) in the modern French department of Pyrénées-Orientales. It had to pay the Pope "duos bizantinos" annually.

[2] Ep. 6. St Peter's of Fenouilhet (Feniliotensis), founded by Bernard Taillefer, Count of Bésalu (Bisildunensis) in the Spanish March.

[3] Jaffé, 3976, a privilege for the monastery of St. Martin of Canigou, in the bishopric of Elna (Spanish March). *Cf.* Fabre, *ib*, pp. 16* and 211.

hands of laymen.[1] In another bull Almaric, archbishop of Aix, is taken to account for having, in conjunction with some powerful nobles, harassed the monastery of St. Peter of Montmajour (north-east of Arles), "which is under the special jurisdiction (*sub potestate*) of St. Peter and ourselves,"[2] and for having, by their cruelties, rendered one of its *villas* uninhabitable. The archbishop is enjoined to make satisfaction himself first, and then, with the aid both of the clergy and the laity "of the state (*imperium*) of Provence," to force the nobles to do likewise.

In taking under his protection the monastery of St. Peter of Fenouihlet, Sergius forbids the holding there of any civil or criminal courts,[3] or the exacting of any kind of temporal dues whatsoever.[4] This grant of immunity from the performance of civil obligations furnishes us with a striking example of the power of the Popes, even in a period when it has been customary with many to speak of their influence as practically dead. With the decline of the civil authority at the close of the ninth century, men turned to that of the Church, whose spiritual sanctions alone met with any respect. And when, in response to requests, the Popes, in certain cases, conceded[5] exemptions even in the realm of the civil power, no objection seems to have been raised On the contrary, there are extant diplomas of kings confirming such grants of the Roman Church without the least demur.[1] In the midst of the anarchy caused by every petty duke or count making himself a king in his own domain, both the people and the nominal kings were glad of the intervention of any authority capable of producing peace To shield themselves against their more powerful neighbours, some of the nobles themselves applied for papal protection. So we see Sergius granting this desired boon to the lord of Castrum Scuriense (Lescure in Languedoc) for the annual payment of ten solidi "of Raymond money."[2] And if he is to be found vindicating the rights of Andrew, bishop of Parenzo and Pola, to Buvigno against the attempted encroachments of John IV., patriarch of Aquileia,[3] he is only doing for ecclesiastical prelates in a subordinate position what he was called upon to do for lay-lords under similar circumstances.

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[1] Ep. 3. "Obnixe petierunt ut prædictas decimas . . . . ne in futuro laicis hominibus in beneficio darentur, nostro apostolico interdicerent præcepto."

[2] In sign of this, the monastery afterwards paid the Pope five solidi a year, and for one of its possessions (pro castello Bidneni—Bédoin) three pounds of incense. *Liber Cens.*, p. 183. *Cf.* Jaffé, 3886.

[3] "Placitos publicos sive per homicidia vel pro cujuscunque culpa." Ep. 6.

[4] "Vel functionem sive temporale servitium ex eodem monasterio exigere." *Ib.*

[5] *Cf.* the bull of Nicholas I. (867) in favour of the convent of Vezelay. He ordains: "Nullum de sacerdotibus, nullum de regibus . . . . aut de quacunque commoditate spiritualis aut temporalis obsequii, sive quibuscunque causis ad idem monasterium pertinentibus, audere . . . . quidquam accipere." Ap. *P. L.*, t. 119, p. 1116 f. *Cf.* an exactly parallel privilege of John VIII. for the monastery of St. Peter, "in pago

Hamburg and Verden.

But the more powerful were not always in the wrong. Libentius, the faithful friend of the exiled Benedict V., and archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen (988–1013), had a dispute with Bernar, bishop of Verden (Verda) as to jurisdiction over the parish of Ramsola, near Bardwyk. The former pleaded that St. Anschar, the first apostle of that district, had fled to Ramsola on the burning of Hamburg by the

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Nemausensi (Nîmes)," otherwise known as the monastery of St Giles. Ap. *P. L.*, t 126, p. 788 f.

[1] *Cf* a diploma of Charles the Bald, 868, endorsing the exemptions granted by Nicholas I to the convent of Vezelay Ap Fabre, *Étude sur le Lib Cens.*, p 48.

[2] So called after the counts of Toulouse, who so frequently bore the name of Raymond. Ep 2. It is curious to find Alexander III. granting the same protection (May 29, 1162) to the same noble house for the same sum. *Cf.* Jaffé, 10724 (7202).

[3] Ep I

Northmen, and had there founded a monastery. Whether or not Sergius remembered the devotion of Libentius to Benedict V., or was simply influenced by the action of Anschar, the dispute was settled in favour of Libentius.[1]

Fulk Nerra and John Crescentius III., 1009.

One reason, no doubt, why so little is known about Popes John XVIII. and Sergius IV. is the state of dependence in which they were kept by John Crescentius III., "the destroyer of the Apostolic See." But it must be acknowledged that details of the oppression exercised by Crescentius are, for the most part, wanting. A curious twelfth century source has, however, furnished us with a few. The *Chronica de gestis Consulum Andegavorum*[2] have preserved a few precious grains of truth, much encumbered, unfortunately, with legendary dross, telling us something about their hero, Fulk Nerra, on which we can rely, and other things which are wholly fabulous.

On the occasion of his second pilgrimage to Jerusalem (1009),[3] the redoubtable Fulk passed through Rome at the time when Sergius IV. was Pope. Knowing that the Black count was "a just man possessed of the wisdom that comes from years," the Pope complained to him about "Crescentius, hateful to God, who daily harassed the people of Rome and the surrounding districts. Some of them he killed, and others he held captive till they were redeemed by a heavy ransom. He took from the people their food and their raiment without leave and without payment. He plundered pilgrim and merchant alike, and there was no one in Italy (Langobardia) who could quell his audacity. All feared him, and no one loved him."[1] When Fulk had heard the complaints which the Pope had to make against Crescentius, he promised to fulfil his behests as an obedient son as soon as he returned from his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and had "adored the cross and the revered sepulchre of the Lord." Then, with letters from the Pope for the Byzantine emperor, he set out for Jerusalem by way of Constantinople.

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[1] Adam. Bremen., *Gesta pont. Hamb.*, i. 25, ii. 43.

[2] Ed. Marchegay and Salmon (Paris, 1871). *Cf.* Halphen, *Le Comté d'Anjou*, p. vi.

[3] Halphen has shown that Fulk's second pilgrimage took place in 1008 or 1009.

So far there is nothing improbable in the narrative of the chronicle of the counts of Anjou. Time, place, persons, and circumstances are all in harmony with what is known from other sources. But what follows is a tissue of absurdities, and seems for the most part to have been interpolated into the original chronicle.[2]

When the count returned to Anjou after the accomplishment of his pilgrimage, mindful of the promise he had made to the Pope, he picked out four of his best archers, and set out for Rome. Assuring the Holy Father that he had come to free him and the people from the tyranny of Crescentius, he asked his pardon for what he was about to do. "Not only do I absolve you from sin," the Pope is made to say; "but I will reward your conduct as you deserve." Fulk then sent to ask Crescentius for an interview, and was told that if he came to his castle in the morning, Crescentius would talk to him from a window. Overjoyed at this answer, the count ordered two of his archers with their long bows to station themselves at the foot of the tower of his intended victim, and, "as he was tall and stout," presented himself before the tower of Crescentius with his other two archers, both crossbowmen, concealed behind him. To steady their nerves, he told his men that unless they brought down Crescentius dead at his feet, he would kill the four of them.

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[1] *Chron.*, p 101 "Nec erat aliquis in Langobardia qui posset contumaciam ejus edomare, et licet omnes eum timerent, nullus erat qui diligeret."

[2] We will pause to note one glaring anachronism Robert, Duke of Normandy, the father of William the Conqueror, who did not die till 1035, is made to expire in Fulk's company on his way to Palestine.

Blessed with a powerful voice (*clamosus erat*), he hailed Crescentius in stentorian tones. "How fair a face you have!" exclaimed the count, as soon as the Roman showed himself at the window. "Pray let me see the beauteous form to which it belongs." Unable to resist a request so flattering to his vanity, Crescentius stepped forth on to a balcony, and next moment fell heavily to the ground, pierced with two arrows and two bolts.

The story is brought to a suitable termination by an assurance on the part of the Pope that Fulk did not stand in need of any forgiveness for what he had done, and by his presenting him with the relics of two martyrs, while Fulk on his side is depicted as abundantly rewarding his archers.[1]

It will suffice here to note that, however true a portrait of Crescentius in life is given by this quaint narrative, the sequel of this work will show that the account it gives of his death is not in the smallest particular in accordance with fact.

Death of Sergius, 1012.

Sergius, who to his other virtues added that of charity to the poor, which he displayed in the midst of a severe famine,[2] died May 12, 1012, and was buried in the Lateran basilica. His tomb, according to John the Deacon,[3] stood near the entrance on the left, and his epitaph may still be seen attached to one of the pillars of the right aisle not far from that of Sylvester II. It cannot be said that he found one to write as good an epitaph for him as he had written for the great French Pope. It opened by entreating those who came to see the Lateran not to stand gazing at its beauties but to reflect on the epitaph in front of them. For, in the tomb beneath it, lie the bones of a great pastor whom God gave to be the glory of His Church. In life he had given bread and clothing to the poor, and to the people at large the word of life. Whilst rejoicing in the improvement in the *status* of the church, he winged his way to heaven. After ruling the diocese of Albano for five years he reached the see in which, after changing his name (Sergius ex Petro), he rested. The epitaph concludes with the length of Sergius' reign and the date of his death.

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[1] "Consul vero Fulco prædictos quatuor archerios feodavit, et terris ac vineis et multis aliis pecuniis ditavit," *Chron.*, p. 106.

[2] *L. P.*, Pessima fames; vendebatur modius tritici C. denar., modius furfaris denar. xxx. *Cf.* the epitaph of Sergius.

[3] *P. L.*, t. 194, p. 1551. In the Benedictine Calendar, but not in that of the Church at large, he is counted among the saints.

> "Quisquis ad hæc tendis sublimina limina lector
> Et caperis tante nobilitate domus
> Intentis oculis aule percurrere raras
> Desine materias, arte juviante manus
> Lumina cū gressu prudens arguta cohercens
> Respice sollicitus quit [d] velit hic tumulus.
> Hic tumulata jacent pastoris membra sereni
> Quem decus ecclesie contulit Omnipotens.
> Pauperibus panis, nudorum vestis opima
> Doctor et egregius qui fuit in populo
> Jura sacerdoti letas dum vidit aristas
> Cetibus equavit naviger angelicis.
> Albanum regimen lustro venerabilis uno
> Rexit , post summum ducitur ad solium
> In quo mutato permansit nomine presul
> Sergius ex Petro sic vocitatus erat
> Ductus mente pia. Ihū dic parce redemptor
> Utque vicem capias dic Ds̄ hunc habeas.
> Q sedit an̄i II. et m. VIII. et die XII. Obiit M.
> m̄di die XII. Indi X
> An dn̄ice Incarn. millesimo tertio X."[1]

Of the seven coins which Promis assigns to Sergius III. Coins (?).
two (nos. 3 and 4 on Table VII.) are so different in type

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[1] Ap. *L. P.*, ii. p. 267. The epitaph as quoted in Watterich, *Vitæ*, i. p. 89, is defective, and has two of the lines misplaced

to the rest, that Pizzamiglio[1] has assigned them to Sergius IV. One of them bears the legend "Saviour of his country" (*Salus patrie*). While this title, it is contended, could scarcely be bestowed on Sergius III,[2] it may well have been given to one who saved his people from famine, not to say from Crescentius III.

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[1] *Primi monete papali*, p. 59.

[2] But for overthrowing Christopher he may perhaps have assumed it himself. The coin bearing the words *Salus patrie* is assigned to Sergius IV. by Cinagli also, *Le monte dei Papi*, p. 12.

BENEDICT VIII.

A.D. 1012–1024.

Sources.—Some three dozen letters, nearly all privileges, ap. *P. L.*, t. 139

With Benedict VIII. the Popes first came in contact with the Normans in south Italy. An alliance with them, destined to be often renewed, and to be fraught with profound consequences to the Papacy, was contracted by this Pope. A few words on the sources of their early history in Italy will perhaps be useful.

According to Peter the Deacon in his *Liber de Illustribus Cassinensibus*,[1] Amatus (in French, Aimé), a monk of Monte Cassino, and a bishop, besides being "most skilled in the Holy Scriptures and an admirable versifier"—sending some of his verses to Gregory VII.—wrote a history of the Normans in eight books. This work he dedicated to abbot Desiderius, afterwards Victor III. (1087–1088). Whether it still exists in MS. in Monte Cassino does not seem to be certain. At any rate, it is only known to the world by means of an old French version of the thirteenth century. Under the title of *L'Ystoire de li Normant et la chronique de Robert Viscart*, it was published somewhat uncritically by Champollion-Figeac in 1835. A better edition was issued by the abbé Delarc in 1892. Aimé, in addition to being often inexact, is regarded as partial, and even as given to calumny. Besides treating of the *origins* of the Normans, of their invasions of various lands, and of their soon taking the first place in them, he writes at greatest length on their doings in south Italy. He died in 1093 at an advanced age.

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[1] C. 20, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vi., or *P. L.*, t. 173. Peter was born in 1107.

Where the work of Aimé terminates, viz. in 1078 with the death of Richard, Duke of Capua (1078), the epic of William of Apulia begins. His hexameters, some of which he owed to Virgil, are allowed to be very tolerable, considering the age in which he lived. That he undertook his poem was due to the instigation of Urban II. (1088–1099). Running to between three and four thousand lines, and divided into five books, it sings of the exploits of the Normans in Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria down to the death of Robert Guiscard in 1085. Dedicated to Roger, Robert's son and successor, it holds a place in the front rank among our authorities for the early history of the Normans in south Italy. For William was a contemporary, probably a Norman, and an eye-witness of much that he relates, and made a good use of preceding writers.[1]

Contemporary with William was the Norman monk Geoffrey, or Godfrey (Gaufredus) Malaterra. Coming into Apulia from beyond the Alps, as he tells us himself,[2] he wrote (*c.* 1098) his *Historia Sicula*, or narrative of the conquests of the Normans in Italy, at the behest of Roger,[3] the brother of Robert Guiscard, and youngest son of Tancred of Hauteville, who had defeated the Saracens in Sicily and taken the title of Count of Sicily. His work, freely interspersed with pieces in verse or rather rhymed prose, is divided into four books, and is clear and natural in style. He adjures us to blame his authorities if there are any inaccuracies in the history of the deeds he relates, which happened when he was not present, and to assign the weakness of his poetry to Roger's wish for clearness of style.[4]

The chronicle, to which, without sufficient reason, is attached the name of "Lupus *Protospatha*" (or captain of guardsmen), and which runs from 860–1102, although in parts unintelligible from the fact of its Latin being mixed with Greek, Arabic, and Italian, is useful for enabling us to fix their proper dates to various events. If not a Greek by birth, its author was so by sympathy.[1] Among other authorities, "Lupus" made use of an anonymous chronicle of Bari[2] which is still extant. Sometimes, however, as it has been pointed out, he either used poor sources, or used good materials but indifferently.

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[1] It may be read ap. *P. L.*, t. 149; and *R. I. SS.*, t. v. The latest edition is by Wilman, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ix.

[2] "A transmontanis partibus venientem." See his prefatory letter of dedication.

[3] "Famosissimus Princeps Rogerius," *ib.*

[4] *Ib.* Geoffrey's work has been published, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v., and *P. L.*, t. 149.

If somewhat later than the above—he died *c.* 1115—Leo Marsicanus, more generally known as Leo Ostiensis, is in some respects a more useful authority. Deriving his surname from the fact that he was born in the ancient territory of the Marsi, a people among Rome's bravest opponents, he entered the famous abbey of Monte Cassino at the early age of fourteen. His abilities and sweetness of character endeared him to his superiors. He became librarian of the monastery, and was the confidant of Abbot Desiderius, afterwards Victor III. Through his intimacy with his abbots he was brought into touch with many of the great men of his day, and was by Paschal II. made cardinal-bishop of Ostia At the command of his abbot, who was resolved not to imitate the sloth of so many of his predecessors, "who had scarcely made any effort to commit to writing any record of their deeds or times, or had done so in such a wretched style as to inspire their readers rather with disgust than with knowledge,"[3] he drew up his voluminous *Chronicle of Monte Cassino*[4] Besides containing many charters of donation and long accounts of miracles, it embodies much sound historical information. In the greater part of the three out of the four books of which it is composed, Leo brought down the history of the great abbey from its beginning to the year 1075. The completion of the third book and the whole of the fourth, continuing the record of the house to 1138, was the work of Peter the Deacon, a writer in honesty, ability, and impartiality much inferior to his predecessor. In the composition of his work, which is in quite a good literary style, Leo made use of preceding authors, of Aimé among others, of ancient charters, and of the recollections of "all who had heard of or seen any of the deeds of modern times."[1] Wattenbach, along with all his other editors, praises his impartiality, and he is justly regarded as one of the brightest ornaments of the Gregorian Renaissance. Other authorities on the early history of the Normans in South Italy will be noticed later on.

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[1] *Chronicon Lupi Protospatarii*, ap. *R I. SS.*, v More accurately, ap. *M. G. SS.*, v. This last edition is reproduced in *P. L.*, t. 155 The name of the author of this chronicle is not known It is only from the seventeenth century that he has been called Lupus

[2] Printed in *R. I SS*, v., and *P. L*, t 155.

[3] *Cf.* Leo's prologue addressed to his Abbot Oderisius.

[4] *Chronica Casinensis*, ap. *R. I. SS*, iv., better edited by Wattenbach, ap. *M. G. SS.*, vii., whence it was republished, ap *P L*, t. 173

Modern Works on the same subject.—See *A Short History of the Normans in South Europe*, by J. W. Barlow (London, 1886), a work clear in style and statement, but somewhat irreverent in tone; *Les Normands en Italie* (859–1073), by the Abbé Delarc (Paris, 1876); and the very important work, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols., by F. Chalandon (Paris, 1907). *L'Italie méridionale et L'Empire Byzantin* (867–1071), by J. Gay (Paris, 1904), is also a most valuable work.

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d its
unts.

IF from the Janiculum one looks across the Tiber to the hills and mountains beyond, there may be descried among the Alban Hills to the south-east the little town of Frascati some ten miles away. Nestling on the slope of a hill a short two miles from the summit it is, in every sense of the word, the descendant of the ancient Tusculum, which stood on the ridge at the top. When the great Latin road was made, Tusculum was already there to frown down upon its builders. And, if we are safe in rejecting any link that would connect it with Ulysses, there is no doubt that, before the battle of Lake Regillus, it was the most important town in Latium. But with the ascendancy of Rome it sank into obscurity, and for well over a thousand years it so remained. With the strange revenges, however, brought about by time in this, the darkest hour of Rome's long life, the star of Tusculum rose again. Its ancient citadel, situated on high ground at its eastern extremity, became the fortress of the counts of Tusculum, and the terror of all the country that could be seen from its lofty walls. Before its final infamous destruction[1] by the Romans in 1191, its rulers had lorded it over the Eternal City, both spiritually and temporally, for several decades of years. During a period of thirty-six years three members of their family held the Papacy, now with honour and now with deep disgrace.

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[1] "Scrupulose interrogatis his, quos modernorum temporum, seu Abbatum gesta, vel audire in proximo contigerat vel videre." *Chronica Casinensis*, ap. *R. I. SS.* iv.

But whence came these counts of Tusculum? They were, we are assured, of the house of Theophylactus, and were descendants of that Theodora I. and Theophylactus who had already given to Rome so many of its rulers during this age. The family name of Theophylactus which they bore seems to make this contention more than likely; and when it is further asserted that they were, through Marozia, of the "Alberic" branch of that house, nothing can, it would seem, be urged to the contrary[2] It is not known

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[1] On this and on the origin of Frascati see a dissertation (*L'origine di Frascati*) by Lugari, read before the pontifical academy of archæology on May 29, 1891.

[2] There exists an epitaph to a ten-year-old John, "the joy of his father Gregory," and the *nepos* "of the great prince Alberic," who died in 1030 during the pontificate of his *patruus* (great-uncle) John XIX.—

"Aurea progenies latet hic vocitata Johs
. . . . .
Gregorio patri fuit et dilectio matri
Atque nepos magni principis Alberici
. . . .
(Decessit) Pontificatu *Johis* XVIIII. *patrui* sui."

I am convinced that in calling this child the *nepos* of Alberic II., Prince of the Romans († 954), Gregorovius and Provana have mistaken the meaning of the words "nepos magni principis Alberici" The Alberic referred to was the brother of John XIX. and Benedict VII., and the *Albericus major* of the catalogues. To him the little John how or when Tusculum passed into the possession of the house of Theophylactus; but, as we have already observed, the first count of Tusculum known to history seems to have been the false friend of Otho III., Gregory "*de Tusculana atque præfecto navali*."[1] The town residence of the counts of Tusculum seems to have been in the Trastevere. At any rate, John XIX., one of the Tusculan family, speaks of the church of SS. Rufina and Secunda (which is about half-way between the churches of St. Maria in Trastevere, and St. Crisogonus) as "situated close to our palace,"[2] which, according to the confirmatory bull of his nephew Benedict IX., was called Scuta.[3]

Benedict VIII.

To this first known count of Tusculum and his wife, Maria, were born three sons, Alberic, always spoken of as *major*, Theophylactus (afterwards Benedict VIII.), and Romanus (afterwards John XIX.). Of these, Theophylactus[4] became Pope on May 18, 1012. Concerning the circumstances of his election there is, as usual with the Popes of this period, more conjecture than ascertained fact. At any rate, whether or not there was any question of rivalry between the *Alberic* and the *Crescentius* branches of the great Theophylact family, it is certain that, at least when

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was *nepos* (grandson), as his father Gregory was Alberic's son. The Prince of the Romans was at least his great-great-grandfather, presuming him to have been connected with him. *Cf.* Provana, *Studi*, p. 399.

[1] *Reg. Farf.*, n. 470.

[2] Ep. 4, ap. *P. L.*, t. 141, p. 1129.

[3] Ep. 3 Bened. IX., ap. *P. L*, t. 141, p. 1353.

[4] A charter (August 2, 1014) given to the monastery of Farfa is signed: "Thfpfklbctxc qui Benedictus Papa vocor" (*Reg. Farf.*, n. 525). *Cf.* one of the catalogues: "Theophilitus, qui et Benedictus, ex patre nobili Gregorio Tusculano, matre Maria," *L. P.*, ii. 268. In the charter just referred to (ep. 6, ap. *P. L.*), Benedict himself speaks, "Et domno Gregorio et domnæ Mariæ genitorum meorum." Another catalogue has: "Benedictus frater Alberici majoris." *Cf. infra*, under John XIX., and see the genealogical table at the beginning of this volume.

Pope, Benedict followed in the footsteps of his predecessor, and was a close adherent of the empire,[1] despite the fact that his father Gregory was an opponent of imperial influence in Rome.

Disputed succession

Further, while details of his election are wanting, some infer that he was imposed on the Holy See by force, as he is said, though only on poor authority, to have been a layman[2]—the first layman who was ever made Pope. But the fact of his having been a layman is more than doubtful. At any rate, his accession was opposed "by a certain Gregory,"[3] possibly of the party of the late Patricius.[4] But, by the force of his own character, and the influence of his family, Benedict remained master of the situation, and proved himself a much more powerful ruler than any of his more immediate predecessors.[1] Gregory was forced to abandon Rome, and leave Benedict in possession of all power, both spiritual and temporal, within the city. "Blessed be the Almighty God in all His works," exclaims our good episcopal chronicler, "because He has deigned, by granting it a noble pastor, to console and pacify Rome, so long depressed."

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[1] "Sergius . . . atque Benedictus ambo præclari et consolidatores nostri." Thietmar, *Chron.*, vi. 61.

[2] On that of the schismatic Beno, *Gesta contr. Hildeb.*, ii., c. 5, ap. *M. G. Libelli de lite imp. et pont.*, ii.. Duchesne, *L'état pontif.*, p. 196, on what authority I know not, says he was a cardinal, and in the list of the bishops of Porto (ap. Gams, *Series Epp.*, p. viii.) he appears as John III., 1001–1012. According to the little known *Chronicon Abbatiæ Fructuariensis*, Benedict was a monk of Cluny, "qui Benedictus *primus* (as opposed to his nephew Benedict IX.) dicebatur, ex abbatia Cluniacensi papa creatus." G. Calligaris, the editor (1889, Roma) of this *antica Cronaca Piemontese*, says that the nucleus of it goes back to the thirteenth century, and that it again depends upon documents which go back to the eleventh century. Hence that Benedict VIII. was a monk may rest on contemporary evidence. It is certainly far from unlikely that Beno has confused Benedict with his brother John XIX., who, as many authors take pains to assure us, was a layman.

[3] Thietmar, *l.c.* He is the only contemporary who tells us of the antipope Gregory. Ricobaldi of Ferrara, who wrote (*Hist. Pont.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, ix.) at the end of the thirteenth century, quotes St. Peter Damian as testifying that Benedict was expelled for a time. But the saint has apparently said nothing of the kind, and is only responsible for the "black-horse" story which we shall tell later, and which Ricobaldi relates immediately after his notice of the schism.

[4] "Patricio quoque mortuo, ordinatus est Benedictus b. m. Papa." *Chron. Farf.*, p. 553, ap. *R. I. SS.*, ii.

The anti-pope appeals to Henry.

Gregory, however, was not at the end of his resources when he was expelled from the city. He made his way to Germany,[2] and at Christmas met Henry at Pöhlde. Cold, however, was the reception accorded to him. No offer he could make to the king had any effect upon him. Henry took charge of his cross, and forbade him in the meanwhile to act as Pope, but promised to have the affair settled by canon law.[3] Of "the certain Gregory," however, we hear no more. Whether he died before Henry's descent into Italy, or whether, disheartened by his reception in Germany, and the reports that reached him of Benedict's firm exercise of his authority, he abandoned his claims to the Holy See; his name, at any rate, is never found again in the documents of the time.

King Henry II. and Italy, 1002-1013.

The eyes of all Italy were now turned towards the North, and while the thoughts of all parties throughout the peninsula were fixed on Henry, some were anxious for his coming, and others dreaded it. In the North Ardoin trembled to hear of his approach, as in the South did Greek and Saracen. Benedict, however, and the oppressed hoped all things from the German king. We have already seen[1] how Ardoin got himself proclaimed king in north Italy (February 1002) on the death of Otho III., and how John Crescentius became Patricius of Rome. And while the Popes, and all the parties who were writhing under the rule of Ardoin or Crescentius, were yearning for the day when Henry would establish his power in Italy,[2] the Lombard endeavoured to keep him away by force of arms, and the Roman by diplomacy

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[1] "Qui tunc præ cæteris antecessoribus suis maxime dominabatur." Thietmar, *l.c.*

[2] Some authors, misreading Thietmar, have made *Benedict* fly to Germany. The *Annalista Saxo* (ap. *M. G. SS.*, vi.) supplies the correct rendering of Thietmar.

[3] "Hujus (Gregorii) crucem rex in suam suscepit custodiam, et a cæteris abstinere præcepit." Thiet., *l.c.*

In the year of his coronation (1002), Ardoin had overthrown a force of Germans sent against him by Henry at the passes of the Adige. But towards the spring of the year 1004, after he had cowed the Slavs,[3] Henry himself descended into Italy at the invitation of a number of its nobles, both clerical and lay[4] With the important exception of Tedaldus, a marquis in Tuscany[5] and grandfather of the famous Matilda of Tuscany, the principal opponents of Ardoin were the bishops And that with good reason; for, though they had at first been his greatest supporters, he so outraged them[6] that they became his most determined foes. All opposition melted away before Henry, and he received the Iron Crown at Pavia

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[1] *Supra*, p. 94.

[2] "Ab omnibus hiis sacerdotibus summis (*i e.* the successors of Sylvester II.) adventus regis admodum desideratur, sed diversorum reluctatione hostium diu tardatur." Thiet., *l.c.*

[3] Ekkehard of Aura (*Chron*, ad an. 1003, ap *P. L.*, t. 154) writes "Henricus rex Italiam, Boemiam, Bolizlaum ducem cum omni Sclavorum gente subjugavit."

[4] *Cf* *Annal. Hildesh.*, an. 1004; Adalbold, *in vit. Henrici*, ap. *M G. SS.*, vi, or *P. L*, t. 140

[5] It appears that it was not Tedaldus himself who was marquis of Tuscany, but his son Boniface. Tedaldus was marquis of a district (*marca*) in which were certain Tuscan and other cities, such as Modena, Reggio, Parma, and Mantua *Cf.* Tosti, *La Contessa Matilde*, pp 27, 28, 33

[6] Adalbold, *l.c.*, n. 15, tells of his seizing the bishop of Brescia by the hair, and dashing him to the ground.

(May 14, 1004).[1] But as so often happened at the imperial coronations in Rome, a quarrel broke out in the evening between the Germans and Italians which resulted in the destruction of Pavia by fire.[2] This untoward event, the ill-feeling thence arising, the adverse influence of Crescentius in Rome, and, above all, internal difficulties in Germany,[3] were no doubt the causes why Henry did not continue his march, and claim the imperial crown. As it was, after receiving the homage of his adherents, he returned to Germany (after Pentecost, 1004), promising his dejected followers a speedy return.[4]

But many years were to elapse before he could fulfil his engagements, and dire was the misery of Italy in the meanwhile. No sooner were his troops across the Alps, than Ardoin descended from his mountains, and devoted himself to wreaking what vengeance he could on those who had adhered to Henry, and to levelling to the ground many of the places which resisted him, and had the misfortune to fall into his hands.[5] In his efforts against Henry he was ably supported by the artful Crescentius. The weapons of the latter were promises, presents, and intrigue among Henry's enemies. In one of his presents, an ampulla of oil which had in a marvellous way burst from the ground in a church,[1] Thietmar sees a figure on the one hand of the clemency of Henry, and on the other of the guile of Crescentius. At length, however, things looked brighter for the German king. Crescentius died,[2] and a strong Pope devoted to his interests was on the chair of Peter. A saint too had come and exhorted him "to restore the rights of the Church, repress the violence of the nobles, and relieve the oppressed poor."[3]

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[1] The date is furnished us by the *Catalogus Oscelensis*, from the monastery of Susa in Savoy, ap. *M. G. SS. Langob.*, p. 519. *Cf.* pp. 493, 516, 520.

[2] *Ann. Quedlin.*, an. 1004. On the whole subject of Henry's relations with Italy see an essay ("Spedizioni di Arrigo II. in Italia") of Bertolini among his *Saggi critici di Stor. Ital.*, Milan, 1883. With misplaced national feeling, he would seem, with Provana, to assign to the Italian *people* too large a share in the support granted to Ardoin. The selfish ambition of the great, was, I believe, at this period the main factor in the march of events.

[3] Thietmar, *Chron.*, vi. 7.

[4] *Ib. Cf.* Adalbold, ap. *P. L.*, t. 140, p. 106.

[5] Arnulfi, *Hist. Mediol.*, i. 16.

Henry emperor, 1014

Accordingly, towards the close of the year 1013, he again entered Italy, bringing with him his wife Cunigunda, and accompanied by a powerful army Ardoin fled from before him. At Ravenna he was met by the Pope. He had thus turned aside from his direct route to Rome to see that justice was done to his brother Arnold. An intruder had driven him from the See of Ravenna, to which, it appears, he had been duly elected. "By the authority of the Pope, and with the approval (*consilio*) of the whole senate," Arnold was reinstated[4] (January 1014). Whilst Henry was engaged in settling other matters there, Benedict returned to Rome to prepare a fitting reception for the future emperor and, by his presence, to keep a check on the faction opposed to the king.

When the German lances appeared in sight of the walls of Rome, the whole city went forth to meet him. Cowed as usual by the military strength of the escort of the imperial candidate, the Romans, much against their will, greeted him with the customary *laudes*, "extolling him to the skies."[1]

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[1] *Chron*, vii. 51. "Muneribus . . . et promissionibus . . . regem . . in palam sepe honorificavit, sed imperatoriæ dignitatis fastigium hunc ascendere multum timuit, omnimodisque id prohibere clam temptavit."

[2] "Qui cum non longe postobiret, duplici ulcione, ut vereor, confunditur et domno papæ securitas regique nostro amplior potestas aperitur." Thietmar, *Chron*, vii. 51

[3] St Romuald. *Cf* his *Life* (c. 65) by St Peter Damian: "Non pauca sibi locutus de restituendo jure ecclesiarum, de violentia potentum, de oppressione pauperum" Ap. *P L.*, t 144.

[4] *Ann. Quedlin.*, 1014; Thiet, *Chron.*, vii 2

When within the walls of the Leonine city, he was straightway surrounded by twelve senators, six of whom were clean-shaven, and six wearing long beards. With wands in their hands, they "mystically" walked before Henry and his wife to the Church of St. Peter, where the Pope was awaiting them at the top of the steps. After the usual mutual salutations, the Pope made it plain that the duty of defending the Church followed on the reception of the imperial crown. The emperor had to become "the advocate of St. Peter."[2] Hence, "before he was introduced into the Church, he was asked whether he would be the faithful patron and defender of the Roman Church, and be in all things devoted to Benedict and his successors."[3] To this Henry returned an answer in the affirmative, and then advanced about a quarter of the way up the nave to the great circular disc of red porphyry[4] where the coronation of the emperors was wont to take place, or, at least to begin. Then with his spouse he was anointed and crowned with the imperial diadem; and into his hand the Pope placed a golden orb divided into four parts by precious gems and with a cross resting on the top of it. This remark-

[1] *Ann. Qued.*, *l.c.* "Licet dissono voto, tamen . . . . suo domino dant laudum præconia, extollentes ad sidera."

[2] "Advenit optati temporis acceleratio, et rex Henricus a papa Benedicto . . . . cum ineffabili honore suscipitur, et advocatus S. Petri meruit fieri." Thiet., *Chron.*, vi. 61.

[3] "Si fidelis vellet Romanæ patronus esse et defensor æcclesiæ, sibi autem suisque successoribus per omnia fidelis." *Ib.*, vii. 1. *Cf. L. P.*, in vit., "Data utrobique sacræ fidei securitate."

[4] In the *Annales Romani* (ap. *L. P.* ii. 340) we read, in an account of the coronation ceremonies of Henry V. (1111), "cum in *rotam porfireticam* pervenisset." *Cf. ib.*, 392.

able emblem, says the monk Raoul Glaber,[1] was, by its cross, to remind "the prince of this world's empire" that he ought so to rule as to be thought worthy of being protected by the standard of the life-giving cross; and, by its gems, that his soul ought to be adorned with the clear and bright light of the great virtues." Joyfully receiving the globe into his hands, "as he was a most sagacious man," he said: "Best of fathers, you have done this to teach me most practically how I ought to rule. It is fitting that this gift be possessed by those who, trampling on this world's pomps, more readily follow the cross of Christ." And forthwith did he send it to the monastery of Cluny, "which was then regarded as the most perfect (*religiosissimum*) of all." His regal crown he ordered to be hung over the altar of the Prince of the Apostles. The coronation day (February 14, 1014) concluded with a grand banquet at the Lateran palace.

Whatever may be the opinion of some modern writers regarding the power exercised by the Popes during the Middle Ages of naming the emperors, there would seem to be little doubt that, by such as in those days concerned themselves about general politics, it was thought highly conducive to the welfare of all that such authority should be vested in their hands. The comments which the spectacle of the coronation of the Emperor Henry I. evoked from Raoul Glaber were unquestionably the expression of the general feeling of the thoughtful. "It is to the highest degree advantageous," he writes,[2] "and most calculated to promote the general peace, that no prince should obtain the sceptre of the Roman empire or be able to be called or be emperor except the one whom the Pope of the Roman See has chosen as fit by the uprightness of his character for rule (*reipublicæ*), and to whom he has entrusted the symbols of the imperial dignity. For we know how of old usurpers everywhere, impudently pushing themselves forward, were constantly created emperors, and were on that very account less fitted for power as they had come by it tyrannically, and not by sacred authority."

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[1] *Hist.*, l. 5, n. 23. The orb already figured on the seals of the Othos. "Benedictione apostolica imperator effectus est." Alpert, *De diversitate temp.*, l. 7, ap. *P. L.*, t. 140. The contemporary author of the *Life* of Wazo of Liège says that "our king Henry, not yet emperor," went to Rome, "a summo pontifice benedictionem apostolicam cum imperii *insignibus* percepturus." C. 22, ap. *P. L.*, t. 142.

[2] *L. c.*

After his coronation the emperor passed some days in arranging matters of public importance, and in distributing enormous largesses both to the nobles and to the people.[1] Among other affairs which were settled by the joint action of the Pope and emperor were the consecration of Arnold by the former, the renewal of the canons which prescribed twenty-five as the age for the ordination of deacons, and thirty for that of priests,[2] and an exchange of property between them. Benedict gave up some property he had in Bavaria for some possessed by the emperor "in the county of Spoleto."[3]

The Credo.

One of those who accompanied his sovereign to Rome, viz. Berno, abbot of Reichenau, tells us[4] of an incident which shows that imperial interest in ritual had not declined from the days when Charlemagne was so interested in the insertion of the *Filioque* in the Creed. The new emperor, astonished to find that at Rome after the Gospel the *Credo* was not sung, asked what was the cause of this peculiarity. He was told that the reason was because

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[1] "Immensa pecunia ubivis locorum congesta." *Ann. Qued.*, 1014.

[2] Thietmar, *Chron.*, vii. 2.

[3] Jaffé, 4001 (3056).

[4] *Lib. de rebus ad Missæ officium pertinent.*, c. 2, ap. *P. L.*, t. 142. "Romani symbolum . . . . nullo modo *cecinerunt*." He was a great friend of the emperor, and an ardent promoter of peace. *Cf.* 3, 5, etc., of his letters, ap. *P. L.*, t. 142.

"the Roman Church had never been stained with heresy; but by the teaching of St Peter had ever remained immovably fixed in the solidity of Catholic doctrine. Hence it was more necessary that the *symbol* should be frequently chanted (*cantando frequentare*) by those who at some time or other might be infected with heresy." However, concludes Berno, at the request of the emperor the Pope consented that it should be sung at public Masses

From this narrative some authors have concluded that at Rome the Credo was never *heard* at Mass before the time of the Emperor Henry I. This, however, has been proved to be a mistake. Several *Ordines Romani* (ii., v. and vi),[1] the testimony of Abbot Amalarius,[2] and especially the words of Pope Leo III make it plain that the Credo was recited during Mass in Rome, at least in the ninth century. The last named Pope, whilst discussing with the legates of the council of Aix-la-Chapelle (809) the question of the insertion into the Creed of the *Filioque* clause remarked. "We do not *chant* the Creed, we *read* it; and by reading it teach. But neither when reading nor teaching do we venture to insert anything into the Creed."[3] The words of Berno then must be interpreted strictly. Till Henry used his influence with Benedict, the Creed was never in Rome solemnly *chanted* at Mass; it was merely read. After that it was always sung at public Masses.

Disturbance in Rome.

So gratified was Bishop Thietmar that his beloved patron had received the imperial crown that plain prose failed him to express his pleasure, and he found it necessary to summon the Muses to his aid. He would have the great day on which Rome submitted herself to his king marked with red. Anointed with the sacred chrism, the emperor is made joyfully to return thanks to God for the blessings he has had bestowed upon him and upon his dear spouse, while the Pope and all with him rejoice in the sense of security that the presence of so great a ruler brings them[1] But the joy was not destined to be of long duration. It was as usual on these occasions drowned in blood. On the octave day of the coronation three brothers, Lombards,[2] whether partisans of Ardoin or not is uncertain, succeeded in raising a bitter feeling against the emperor or his adherents. A fierce fight took place on the bridge of St. Angelo; and the rushing river beneath was soon reddened with the blood of both Latin and Teuton. But German valour, and the exertions of the Pope's brothers, Romanus, "Consul and Duke and Senator of all the Romans," and Alberic, "most eminent Consul and Duke,"[3] prevailed. The disturbance was quelled, and the three brothers were imprisoned. One of them, however, soon escaped from prison, as did many other hostages or prisoners, on the emperor's hasty departure for Germany.[4] And this, according at least to Thietmar,[5] was brought about by the fact that Henry could endure neither the climate of Italy nor the treachery and venality of its inhabitants.

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[1] Ap *P. L.*, t. 78.

[2] In his *Egloga* or treatise on the Mass, ap *P L.*, t. 105.

[3] *Conc.*, iii., sec. post., p 186 (ed. Binius)

Hostilities were instantly resumed; and the indefatigable

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[1] *Chron.*, the close of the sixth book.

[2] *Ib.*, with vii. 1 *cf.* viii. 1.

[3] So they are called in documents. *Cf. Chron. Farf.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, ii., pt. ii., pp. 523, 4, 5. In 1028 Alberic appears as "illustrissimus et clarissimus vir," "count of the sacred Latern palace," "magister imperialis palatii," and Count of Tusculum. *Cf. Tabularium S. Mariæ Novæ*, ap. *Archivio Rom.*, 1900, p. 198 f.; and *Reg. Farf.*, iii. 150.

[4] Thietmar, *l.c.*, and *Ann. Quedlin.*, 1014.

[5] The Alps were recrossed "quia æris hujus et habitatorum qualitates nostris non concordant partibus. Multæ sunt, pro dolor! in Romania atque in Langobardia insidiæ; cunctis huc advenientibus exigua patet caritas; omne quod ibi hospites exigunt venale est, et hoc cum dolo, multique toxico hic pereunt adhibito." *Chron.*, vii. 3.

Ardoin again took the field. But Henry's power in North Italy, at any rate, was more than nominal; and the Lombard king, broken with disappointment or sickness, retired into the monastery of Fructuaria[1] which he had founded, and there died in the beginning of 1015.[2]

The Crescentii and Farfa, 1014

The death of Ardoin brought for a period comparative peace to Upper Italy. Its chief cities utilised the breathing space to strengthen themselves against all comers, kings, bishops, or barons. In the centre of Italy, the Pope, not in the least disheartened by the departure of Henry, proceeded to put a curb on the lawlessness of some of the nobles. He began with the powerful Crescentii in the Sabina. When Benedict came to the throne of Peter, they were still harassing the monastery of Farfa as they had been in the days of Gregory V.[3] By a treacherous night attack, Crescentius, the son of Count Benedict and of Theodoranda, daughter of Crescentius of the Marble Horse, had made himself master of the castle of Bucciniano, a possession of the monastery of Farfa, and situated on Monte Acutiano close to it. Appealed to, as the special protector of this monastery, the emperor gave judgment in favour of Abbot Hugo; but as he was about to return to Germany, begged the Pope to see that Farfa recovered its property.[4] Benedict accordingly summoned Crescentius either to give up the castle, or come to terms with the abbot. His messengers were laughed to scorn. But the count knew not with whom he was dealing. To his astonishment he soon heard the indignant and angry pontiff thundering at his gates with a powerful force at his back. He begged and obtained a respite of twenty days, promising to come up for trial at the end of that period.

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[1] Some twenty miles south of Ivrea. It merited the title of "thalamus Jesu" from such a severe censor as St Peter Damian, *Opusc.*, 18, c. 4

[2] Thietmar, *l c.*, vii 3, 17 *Cf.* Provana, *Studi*, pp 303, 5 He died in the habit of a monk, perhaps mindful that the Roman synod of 999, held in presence of Pope Sylvester and Otho III., had condemned him to become a monk for the murder of the bishop of Vercelli. Provana, *ib*, p. 345 *Cf Chron abbat Fruct*, p. 122 f.

[3] *V supra*, vol. iv. p. 431

[4] Before the tumult caused by the Lombard brothers, he had determined to recover the place himself, and had asked the Pope for his troops, so that Crescentius might be the more easily subdued by their united forces *Chron. Farf*, p. 554

At the expiration of the appointed time, the Pope rode out from Rome with a numerous following. Opposite the castle was a place known as *Tribucum in monte.* Benedict decided to open his court there, and to hold it in the open air. Accordingly a faldstool was set for him beneath a great spreading pine, and round him gathered the principal members of his court. Besides those learned in both the Roman and the Lombard law, there were present the Secundicerius, the Adminiculator, the Primicerius of the Defensors, the Arcarius, and various *Judices Dativi*, abbots, counts, and nobles. When the abbot of Farfa had stated his grievance in terms of Lombard law, Crescentius was duly summoned to make answer. But, inasmuch "as he was headstrong and obstinate," though thrice summoned, he refused to appear before the court. Accordingly, after the abbot's title-deeds to Bucciniano had been examined and found satisfactory, and after a careful comparison of the Justinian and the Lombard laws, judgment was pronounced in favour of Farfa; and it was decreed that if Crescentius or any of his should in future give any trouble to the monastery in this matter, he was to be fined to the extent of one hundred pounds of the purest gold, half of which was to go to the papal treasury ("in Sacro Lateranensi Palatio"), and half to the monastery.[1]

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[1] All these interesting details are furnished by the *breve recordationis* drawn up by the scrivener Benedict. Ap. *R. I. SS.*, ii., pt. ii., p. 517 f.

So pleased was the Pope with Abbot Hugo, and so satisfied was he with the good which the monastery was doing, that, besides thus himself seeing that its rights were respected, he granted to it further possessions out of the property of the Apostolic See.[1] Moreover, at the request of the monks, the emperor confirmed all that had been done by the "Lord Benedict, supreme Roman Pontiff, and our spiritual Father."[2]

In the matter of justice being done to Farfa, Benedict was as firm with his own nearest relations as with others. Among the nobles who were anxious to enrich themselves at the expense of St. Mary's abbey, was the Pope's own brother, Romanus. But though he pleaded that he had acquired the property in dispute from Crescentius in good faith, thinking that he had a proper right to dispose of it, he was made to restore it to the monastery by the Pope.[3] But, no doubt to be more free to act against the Saracens, Benedict was constrained, though much against his will—at least, so Abbot Hugo says—to effect some compromise with the Crescentii, in order to put an end to the perpetual strife between them and the monastery[4] (1015 or 1016).

The Saracens, 1016

The Pope was anxious to bring about, almost at any price, peace and goodwill among the people of Italy Intent upon their own aggrandisement, the great ones of the land were taking no heed of their common foe, the Saracens, who were once again making themselves very formidable. In south Italy they had seized Cosenza (1010) only a year or two before Benedict came to the throne; and, in the course of the next few years, they had burned Pisa, and had seized Luna in northern Tuscany. From this centre they ravaged the country, committing the greatest atrocities.[1] The leader of this particular band of marauders is thought to have been Abu Hosein Mogêhid, a Spanish renegade, who had swooped down from Sardinia, which had been a Moslem province for over a century. The news of their outrages at Luna filled the warlike soul of Benedict with indignation. Animated with the spirit of John VIII. and John X., he determined to combat them himself if no one else would. He endeavoured to infuse his own spirit into all around him. He exhorted "all the rectors and defensors of Holy Mother Church to collect together, and with him boldly to fall upon the enemies of Christ who were committing such outrages."[2] To prevent the infidels from escaping by sea, he sent forward "an unspeakable multitude of ships." At first the Saracen chief was haughtily indignant that the Pope should dare to think of facing him. But when the papal fleet began to show itself, his courage failed him. Afraid of being cut off, he abandoned his wife and his people, and just managed to effect his escape to Sardinia. With the courage of despair the Saracens kept the Pope at bay for three days; but at length the Christians were victorious. Every single Moslem was put to the edge of the sword. Even the wife of their chief, who had been seized, shared the general doom, to atone for the misdeeds of her husband. Her rich diadem was sent to the emperor by the victorious pontiff.

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[1] "Omnia juris S nostræ Rom Ecclesiæ." *Cf* a bull of Benedict Ap. *R I. SS.*, ii., pt ii., *ib.*, p 521 f., and another, p. 518 f.

[2] See his diploma, ap. *Chron. Farf.*, *ib.*, p 513 f.

[3] *Cf* the *breve refutationis* of "Romanus, Consul et Dux et Senator Romanorum, germanus Dom Pont Bened ," ap *R. I. SS* , *l c* , p. 523.

[4] "Papa finem cum eis fecit absque nobis, non tamen cum bona voluntate, ut sciunt plurimi." *Ib* , p. 555.

Furious at the misfortune which had overtaken him, the Moslem king, so we are told, sent the Pope a bag of chestnuts with a message that he might expect him in the following summer with as many soldiers as there were nuts in the bag. Threats were not calculated to alarm Benedict. He accepted the chestnuts, and sent back the bag full of rice. "If your master," said he to the astonished messenger, "is not satisfied with the damage he has already done to the dowry of the Apostle, let him come again, and for every grain of rice he will find an armed warrior waiting to receive him."[1] Apparently, however, the Pope did not wait to be attacked; he stirred up the Pisans and Genoese, who seem to have co-operated with him at Luna,[2] to carry the war into the enemies' country His legate, the bishop of Ostia, went both to Pisa and to Genoa to exhort them to attack the Saracen in his home The combined fleets of both cities sailed for Sardinia (1017); and none too soon; for Mogêhid, or Mugetto as he is called by the chronicles of Pisa, who supplemented his want of courage by atrocious cruelty, was engaged in crucifying the Christians of the island As before, he saved himself by flight, and betook himself to Africa. Unfortunately, no sooner had the Pisans and Genoese obtained possession of the island than they quarrelled for it among themselves. The Pope, it seems, had promised Sardinia to the Pisans, should Mugetto be expelled[3] The Genoese, however, wanted the island, and war broke out between the two cities. Partly by superior prowess, and partly by allowing their allies and rivals all Mugetto's treasure which on one occasion fell into their hands, the Pisans retained the island and the much-needed help of the Genoese. The defeated renegade did not cease making efforts to recover Sardinia till as late as the year 1050, when he was at length captured by the successful Pisans, and when the island was again made over to them by the Pope.[1]

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[1] Thietmar, *Chron.*, vii. 31.

[2] *Ib.*

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[1] Still Thietmar

[2] At least in the oldest chronicle of Pisa (it closes with the year 1136) we read (ad an. 1016), "Fecerunt Pisani et Januenses bellum cum Mugeto et vicerunt illum"

[3] "Quam (Sardiniam) totam cum privilegio et vexillo S Petri Pisanæ civitati firmavit (Papa)" *Chron Pisan.*, ad an. 1017. This chronicle, which gives more details than the one just quoted, was the work of Bernard Marango († *c.* 1188), in his day one of Pisa's principal citizens. "He is in substance a well-informed annalist and truthful," says Balzani.

The Normans

While in the north of Italy some of its cities were thus laying the foundations of their future greatness, events were in progress in the South which were to result there in the expulsion of both Greeks and Saracens, and in the formation of a new kingdom by a race hitherto known to the peoples of Italy in a hardly more favourable light than the Saracens. During the ninth century roving vikings had "gathered property" even from Italy. But in the following century, with the acquisition of Normandy, and a large part of England, and with their acceptance of Christianity, their indiscriminate ravages ceased; and when in this century they were seen in Italy, it was as pilgrims going to the Holy Land or returning from it. In the year 1016 forty of these pilgrims did yeoman service in helping the people of Salerno to drive off a besieging force of Saracens.[2] Attracted to Italy by what their pilgrim-countrymen told them of its wealth, and by envoys from Guaimar, prince of Salerno, who wished to enlist recruits against the infidel, no less than two hundred and fifty Normans or Northmen from Normandy, crossed the Alps in the following year, and presented themselves before Pope Benedict. They were exactly what he wanted, but he turned their arms against the Greek and not against the Saracen.[1]

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[1] *Chron. Pisan.*, ad an 1050, "Pisa fuit firmata de tota Sardinea a Romana Sede." *R. I. SS*, vi. 168.

[2] *Cf.* Lupus Proto., an. 1016, and *L'Yistoire de li Normant.*, i. 17. Compare the early history of the Normans in Apulia by William of Jumièges (Gemmeticensis), *Hist. Nortman*, vii. 30, ap *P. L.*, t. 149 William dedicated his history to our own William the Conqueror (*c.* 1070) The book quoted is the most valuable portion of a rather feeble production.

After the battle of Stilo (982), where Otho II was defeated by the Greeks and Saracens, Greek influence became paramount in south Italy. With the exception of Beneventum, they were masters of nearly the whole of it. Unceasing efforts were made to *Hellenise* it by the foundation of Greek colonies, by the substitution of the Greek rite instead of the Latin in the different parishes, and by pushing everywhere the use of the Greek language and costume. This line of policy the Byzantine Catapan endeavoured, rather ruthlessly, to carry out in Apulia,[2] which was much less Greek than Calabria or Otranto. "Unable to bear the pride and insolence of the Greeks, the Apulians revolted" (1009).[3] Their leader was one of the foremost citizens of Bari, by name Melus. After some little success, he had to fly from his native city (*c.* 1011). During his exile, however, he had the good fortune to fall in with some Norman pilgrims, very likely the forty who were so successful at Salerno. The story of their meeting him is told by William of Apulia.[4] At the shrine of the Archangel Michael on Mt. Garganus, the Italian St. Michael's Mount, "they beheld a man clad after the Greek fashion, by name Melus." Astonished at his curious dress and myrtle-crowned head, they asked him who and whence he was. He replied that he was a Lombard, a well-born citizen of Bari; but, owing to the ferocity of the Greeks, an exile. With your help, however, he added, "I should easily be able to make good my return." This they promised after a visit to their native land. These then were the men who, with the friends they had induced to accompany them, presented themselves (1017) before Pope Benedict.[1]

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[1] Ademar, *Chron* iii. 55 "Multitudo eorum . . . . armati Romam, et inde conivente papa Benedicto Appuliam aggressi, cuncta devastant." *Cf.* Glaber, *Hist*, iii. 1, n. 3, and Leo, *Chron Cas.*, ii 37. Leo makes extensive use of Aimé

[2] *Cf. L'état politique de l'Ital mérid. à l'arrivée des Nors*, p. 440 f., by Chalandon, ap *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.*, 1901.

[3] *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 37.

[4] L 1, init

Benedict in Germany, April and May 1020.

The one object of the Pope was to bring about the peace of Italy by the expulsion of the stranger; and in the warlike Normans he saw he would have most valuable allies. He accordingly explained to them the doings of the Greeks, regretted his own inability to drive the foreigners out of the country,[2] and encouraged them to help Melus. Under their Apulian leader they were at first successful. But a new Catapan[3] (Basilius Bugianus) was sent from Constantinople. He proved himself a most able general. The Normans were almost annihilated (1019), and Melus was compelled to cross the Alps and beg the aid of the emperor. Though he himself died in Germany before Henry set out for the South, his words, supported doubtless by those of the Pope (who was certainly in Germany in the first quarter of the year 1020[4]), did not remain without effect, as we shall soon see.

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[1] "Postquam gens *Romam* Normannica transit inermis,
Fessa labore viæ Campanis substitit oris." William of Apulia, *l.c.*

The story of the first appearance of the Normans in south Italy is very obscure, and will be found somewhat differently told in Gay, *L'Italie mérid.*, p. 398 ff., and other authors.

[2] "Cepit (Benedictus) ei (Rodulf, the Norman leader) querelam exponere de Grecorum invasione . . . . seque multum dolere quoniam minime talis in suis existeret, qui repelleret viros exteræ nationis." Glaber, *l.c.*

[3] This title of the supreme Byzantine official in south Italy seems to have been formed by a kind of play upon the words κατά and πᾶν, to denote the union in one person of all authority both civil and military.

[4] *Cf.* the *Life* of Henry by Adalbert, a deacon of the church of Bamberg, written about 1146. Ap. *M. G. SS.*, iv., or *P. L.*, t. 140. Benedict was at Bamberg on April 14, and, in the necrology of its cathedral, the death of Melus (Ismahel) is assigned to April 23, "1020,

Although Benedict was in Germany in April 1020, he does not seem to have gone there for the precise object of supporting the petition of Melus for aid against the Greeks. He went in answer to a request of the emperor that he would come and consecrate a church at Bamberg, in which, as we have seen, Henry had erected an episcopal see.[1] In that city of his special affection the king had built several churches of which one, that of St. Peter and St. George (the cathedral), had been already consecrated (1012) by John of Aquilea.[2]

The arrival of the Pope in Germany (April 1020) made a great sensation. It is spoken of in all the chronicles. They remind us that the celebration of the festival of Easter in Germany by Pope and emperor together was an event hitherto unknown in the annals of the world[3] Bebo, a deacon of Bamberg, who was present at the different ceremonies, writing to the emperor (1021), says[4] that the memory of them will never pass away, for none of those who were present could ever forget them. "Lo!" he continued, "the vicar of St. Peter, who on account of his pre-eminent dignity has the power of binding and

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9 Kal Mai Ismahel dux Apuliæ," ap. *Mon Bamberg.*, ed Jaffé, p 558. On the question of the real identity of Melus with Ishmael compare Lupus Protospat, an 1020, with Adalbert, *in vit. Henrici*, c. 3, and Romuald of Salerno, an 1011. Chalandon (*Hist. de la dominat. normande en Italie*, i. 43) decides against this identity.

[1] See *supra*, p. 138 ff , and *Ann Altahenses maj*, 1020, "Benedictus VIII papa, ab imperatore Babinperc vocatus, advenit." *Cf.* Leo, *Chron. Cass*, ii. 46, etc., to be quoted immediately. Leo mistakenly calls the church consecrated by Benedict that of St. George; it was St. Stephen's He had already (ep. 4) confirmed the privileges of the cathedral church

[2] *Cf. Vit. S Cunegundis*, ap. *P L.*, t 140, p. 207; Thietmar, *Chron.*, vi 40, and the document ap *Mon Bamberg*, ed. Jaffé, p. 479

[3] *Ann. Quedlin.*, 1020.

[4] *Epp. Bamberg*, 6, ap. Jaffé, *l c.* "Ecce vicarius S. Petri, qui principalis prerogativa dignitatis potestatem habet ligandi atque solvendi . . . venit ad hospicium," etc.

loosing, came to St. Peter's monastery at Bamberg on that day of love (Maunday-Thursday, April 14), which, for a testimony of the loving kindness bestowed upon us, is called Cœna Domini (the Lord's Supper)."

To meet the Pope, who came to the church on horseback, all the clergy went forth in their sacred vestments. Four choirs were drawn up to greet the pontiff. One was stationed at the head of the bridge on the far bank of the river Regnitz, on which, in the midst of orchards and hop-gardens, Bamberg was pleasantly situated. The second took up its stand at the other end of the bridge, the third stood before the city gate, and the fourth by the side of the emperor in the atrium of the church. Each of these choirs in turn hailed the Pope with sacred chants,[1] harmonised with true Germanic skill. After he had prayed, prostrate on the ground, before three of the altars of the church, and had then taken his seat on the episcopal throne, first the clergy intoned the *Te Deum*, and then all the people sang the *Kyrrie leyson* (sic) in unison. "Adamantine indeed," interjects the worthy deacon, "must have been the heart that true compunction did not touch at that moment."

On the conclusion of the *Gloria in excelsis*, and after the emperor and the Pope had exchanged the kiss of peace, the latter went to the door of the church and, in accordance with a custom which had certainly existed in Rome as early as the fourth century,[2] absolved the contrite penitents from their sins, and introduced them into the church. After the gospel the Pope preached, and then, with the assistance of twelve bishops, proceeded to bless the chrism and the holy oils.

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[1] "Suavitate canora atque modulatione distincta." *Epp. Bamberg.*, 6, ap. Jaffé, *l.c.*

[2] *Cf. Ep. Innocent. I.* ad. Decent., c. 7. Because the *ordines* of the ninth century make no mention of the reconciliation of penitents on Holy Thursday, Duchesne (*Les Origines*, ed. 1903, p. 439 n.) supposes that the custom may have ceased in Rome in the eighth century.

Benedict also officiated at the services of the Church on the three following days, and did not fail to be present at the grand banquet which closed the religious celebrations on Easter Sunday.[1] Ten days after (April 24) he dedicated the Church of St. Stephen,[2] outside the city. Moreover, before he left Germany, he passed in synod various useful measures of reform,[3] of which the details are unknown to us, and confirmed its possessions to the convent of Goss near Léoben in the valley of the Mur, requiring in testimony thereof that one golden solidus should be paid annually to the Roman Church.[4]

Henry decides to attack the Greeks.

In going to Germany, however, the Pope had other ends in view besides performing ecclesiastical functions. The situation of the Papacy was most critical. The skill of the new Catapan, the defeat of the Normans, and the defection of Pandulf IV. of Capua, who had thrown in his lot with the Greeks, had made them masters of south Italy.[5] What was to prevent their seizing Rome, driving the Germans from north Italy, and thus putting an end to the empire of the house of Saxony? These points,[6] which had been put before Henry by Melus, were reiterated by Benedict. Realising the gravity of the situation, the emperor determined to break the power of the Greeks in Italy once for all.

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[1] Still Bebo. "Et post divina cum pleno cornu humanis commodis nec defuit copia."

[2] With Bebo *cf* Wiponis *Gesta Chuonradi*, n. 1, and Hermanus Contractus, *Annal.*, 1020.

[3] *Cf* Ruperti (†1135) *Chron. S. Laurent. Leod.*, c. 19, ap. *M. G SS.*, viii.

[4] Ep. 24; Eugenius III confers the same favour and makes the same requirement (Jaffé, 9239); and in the *Liber Censuum*, p. 170, there is the following entry. "Gossensis ecclesia I romanatum."

[5] The Byzantine historians believed, or pretended to believe, that Bujanus had "subdued all (south) Italy with the exception of Rome" *Cf.* Skylitzes in Cedrenus, *Chron.*, ii. 546

[6] "His . . . . Heinricus auditis . . . reputans, amissa Apulia, ac Principatu (*i e.* Capua), Romam quoque, ni maturaret, ac per hoc Italiam totam sibi . . amittendam, cum jam Melus bis ad eum hac

The donation of Henry II., 1020.

At the same time Benedict pointed out to the emperor how, during the tenth century, the dominions of the Church had been usurped, and that, despite the donation of Otho I., there was little improvement in the state of affairs in this respect. True to the traditions of his house, which were to strengthen the Church against the nobility, Henry solemnly renewed the donation of Otho,[1] practically in the same terms. One fresh clause, however, was inserted in it. It dealt with concessions in Germany which had been made by him, and ran thus: "Moreover, we confirm to you the monastery of Fulda,[2] and the right of consecrating its abbot; and, moreover, all the monasteries, estates, and villas which St. Peter is known to possess in the ultramontane regions, except[3] Antesna, Wineringa, and Hollenbach (or Willinbach),[4] which by deed of exchange were made over, by the Church of St. Peter to our bishop of Bamberg, and for which we granted to the aforesaid Church the land we possessed between Narni, Interamna,[5] and Spoleto. Further,

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de causa profectus ultra montes defunctus fuisset . . . . Italiam venit." Leo, *Chron.*, ii. 39.

[1] *Cf.* Bonizo of Sutri, *Ad Amicum*, t. iv., *sub fin.*, "Romanæ eccles. privilegia multa concessit et dona amplissima dedit"; and Fromund, a contemporary monk of Tegernsé. Writing of Henry, "Filius Ecclesiæ, pulcher et ipse pater," he says (*Poem.*, 13, ap. *P. L.*, t. 141, p. 129), "Prædia quodque sacræ contulit Ecclesiæ."

[2] Leo IX. gave up his rights over Fulda and other monasteries for Beneventum, at the time when he gave up those over Bamberg. *Cf.* Hermanus Contr., an. 1053; Leo Ost., ii. 46.

[3] *Absque*, according to most of the versions. But that of Deusdedit (ed. Martinucci, p. 338) has *atque*.

[4] Three estates in Bavaria exchanged by Benedict for property in Italy. *Cf.* Jaffé, 4001 (3056), and *P. L.*, t. 139, ep. 8.

[5] Terranem or Teramnem, according to the texts.

under the protection of St. Peter and under yours and that of your successors, we place the aforesaid bishopric of Bamberg. Hence, as a rent-charge (*pensio*) we decree that you shall each year receive a white horse properly caparisoned from the bishop of the said district."[1]

Objections have been urged against the authenticity of this document. But the establishment of the genuineness of the *donation* of Otho I., on which it rests, has, in conjunction with the testimonies of Fromund, Bonizo, etc., just cited, furnished satisfactory replies to them; while the genuineness of the clause peculiar to Henry's deed is abundantly vindicated by what has been said in the notes of the undoubted history of the places therein mentioned.

Benedict visits Fulda.

Before leaving Germany, Benedict, in company with the emperor, went to visit the monastery of Fulda, the famous foundation of our great St. Boniface among the Taunus Mountains in Hesse. It was a day never to be forgotten by the monks. They recorded its events even in their Necrology.[2] On Sunday, May 1, High Mass was solemnly sung by the Pope; and after the Gospel he caused the *privileges* granted to the monastery by his predecessors to be read aloud by the archdeacon of the Roman Church. After these had been duly confirmed by both Pope and emperor, and the apostolical benediction granted to the monks, Benedict returned to Rome,[3] and Henry began his preparations for his expedition against the Greeks.

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[1] This fresh clause in Henry's donation was published by Card. Deusdedit, *Coll. Can.*, iii., c. 154, and in the *Liber Cens.*, p. 366. The full text of the donation, *ib.*, p. 371. Reprinted by Theiner, *Cod. Diplom.*, i. p. 7; Watterich, i. 704, etc. *Cf.* Jaffé, 4030 (3075), for the bull of May 1, 1020, in which Benedict entrusts the See of Bamberg to Bishop Eberhard.

[2] *Annal. necrol. Fuld.*, 1020, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xiii. "Satis et merito gaudebat se Fulda sub hospite raro (Pope Benedict)."

[3] "Arces Romani imperii requisivit." *Ib.* *Cf.* Jaffé, sub 4029.

Henry enters Italy, 1021.

It was not, however, till the close of the year 1021 that the emperor was ready to make his descent upon Italy. He entered the country at the head of a powerful army. After spending Christmas in the north of Italy, he divided his army into three divisions and advanced southwards. He himself, in command of the largest body, marched along the eastern side of the country against Troia (Troy), a strong fortress recently erected by the Greeks near Mt. Garganus. Poppo, archbishop or patriarch of Aquileia, led some eleven thousand men through the centre of Italy, while another equally warlike prelate, Belgrimus (or Pellegrinus), archbishop of Cologne, with twenty thousand men, was directed to march by the west coast through Rome, and to seize the traitorous prince of Capua. Henry was met by the Pope. They both entered Beneventum on March 3.[1] Everything gave way before the imperial hosts. Pandulf of Capua was deprived of his principality, and saw it given to another. Troy opened its gates to the victorious emperor, or, what seems more probable, gave him hostages.[2] But he was not able to effect any permanent conquest. One enemy grew stronger as time wore on—the sun of Italy. A people "accustomed to perpetual cold" could not face it. Disease as usual set in amongst the Germans, and Henry had to retrace his footsteps.[3] However, he first gave part of territory he had recovered to the nephews of Melus, and rewarded his Norman allies, who from this time forth for

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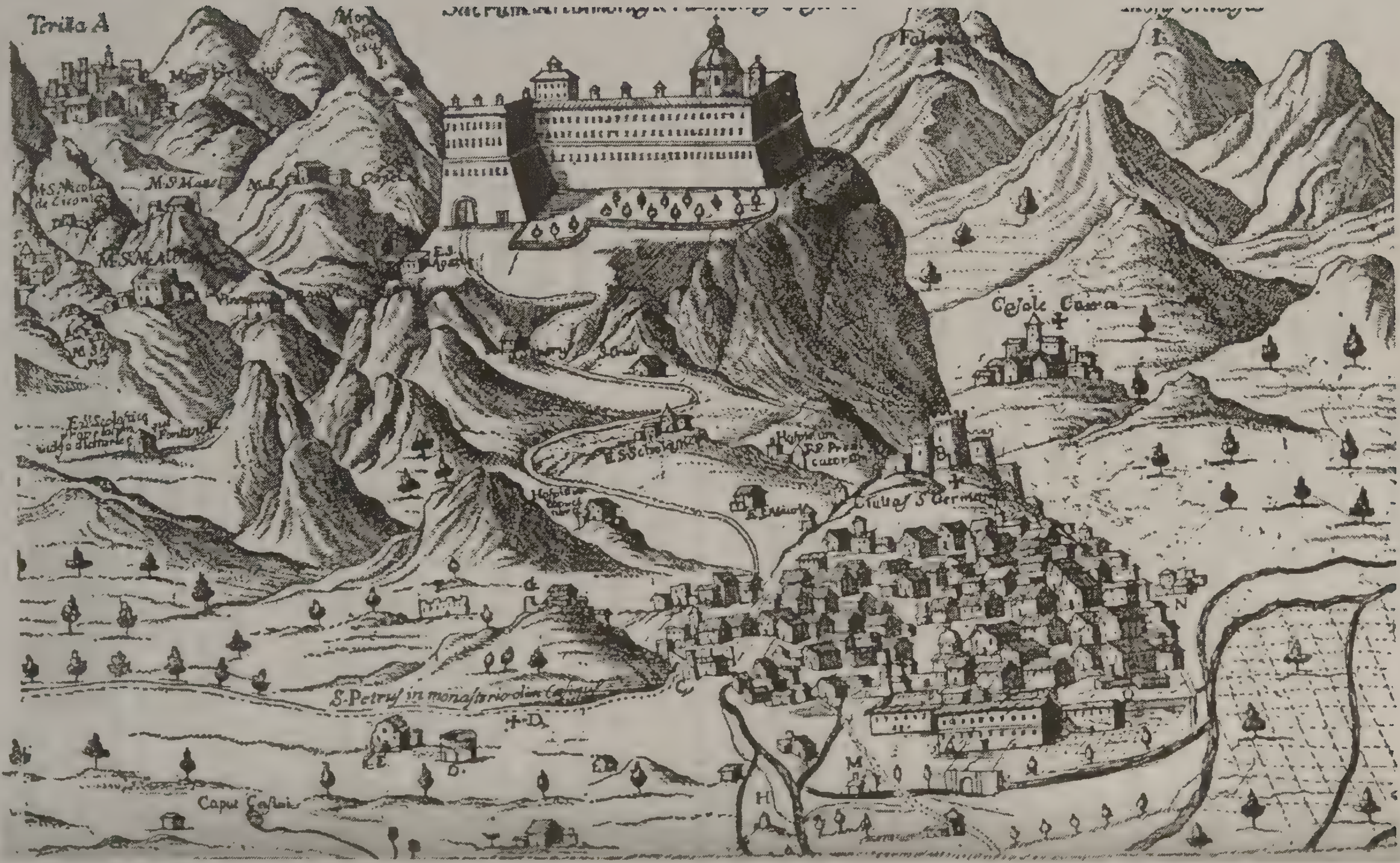
[1] *Annal. Benev.*, 1022, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii. Whilst there he declared the monastery of S. Sophia subject to the Holy See only. Ep. 26.

[2] According to the better authority of *Annal. Qucd.*, and of Leo, *Chron. Cass.*, ii. 41, "Troianis deditionem sui facientibus"; but, according to Romuald of Salerno (end of twelfth century), *Chron.*, 1022, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii., after a siege of four months, Henry "timuit sibi suisque æstivum Apuliæ calorem," and made peace with the citizens. *Cf.* Aimé, i. 27, and iv. 3.

[3] Leo, *l.c.*; *Ann. Quedlin.*, 1021.


Terilla A
Mons Spec
M. S. Maur
M. S. Nicola de Ciconia
M. S. Mauro
E. S. Agata
E. S. Scolastica
Hospitium F.F. Praedicatorum
Civitas S. Germani
Cesole Casara
Falcone
S. Petrus in monasterio olim Casinum
Capue Castel
B
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some eight years sold their swords to the highest bidder, whether Italian or Greek. At the end of that time, when their leader had been named count of Aversa[1] (1030) by Sergius, *magister militum* or duke of Naples, in return for services they had rendered him, they began, now that they had a local habitation as well as a name, to fight for their own hands against Greek, Italian, or Saracen. Before the end of the century they had mastered them all, and two Norman counts ruled the lands that were afterwards to be known as the kingdom of the two Sicilies.

Pope and emperor at Monte Cassino and Rome.

On his return journey the emperor, along with the Pope, visited Monte Cassino. Its abbot, Atenulf, brother of the rebellious prince of Capua, had fled from the abbey when Henry made his descent into Italy, and had been drowned whilst attempting to escape to Constantinople. To ensure the loyality of such an important personage as the head of Monte Cassino, pressure was no doubt brought to bear upon the monks, and, in the presence of the emperor and the Pope, they elected as their new abbot Theobald, who "had been clothed with the habit of holy religion in his fourteenth year." At the time of his election he was holding the office of Provost of the March of Teanum. In this capacity he had rendered the greatest service to the emperor on his descent into Apulia. He was consecrated abbot by the Pope himself, on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul (June 29[2]). After they had thus left a staunch friend in the important position of abbot of this powerful monastery, Benedict and Henry went to Rome. During their short stay in the city all possible measures were taken to consolidate the imperial influence among the nobles.[1]

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[1] *Cf.* Schipa, *Storia del Ducato Napolitano*, p. 311, for a description of the fertile district of Aversa, halfway between Capua and Naples. The patriotic author, if he has to blame Naples for first bringing into Italy the destructive Saracen, praises it for giving form and substance to those constructive Normans, who were the foundation of the great kingdom which was to put an end to five centuries and a half of anarchy. *Ib.*, p. 310.

[2] *Chron. Cass*, ii. 42. *Cf.* ii. 51, 2.

Reforming council of Pavia, 1022.

But the pestilence was meanwhile playing fearful havoc among the German troopers.[2] Colder climes must be reached without further delay. And so, still accompanied by the Pope, Henry hurried northwards. At Pavia a halt was called, and, to cope with the widespread vices of incontinency and simony among the clergy, an important synod was held.[3] There were present at it both the Pope and the emperor, who were in complete accord as to the necessity of curbing these evils, and a considerable number of bishops and nobles.

The proceedings opened with a very lengthy and vigorous harangue[4] from the Pope, in which, addressing the clergy, he denounced the violation of their duty of celibacy, and the alienation of Church property by them, especially by such "as had had a servile origin," *i.e.*, had once been numbered among the serfs of the Church.

As long as the Church, he began, follows the regulations laid down by the Fathers, it flourishes, but it falls into trouble as soon as it leaves the road indicated by them. The greatest enemies of the Church, those whose lives most defile it, are its bad priests; for, when made fat by the goods of the Church, they kick against it. They have dissipated the goods which kings and people have bestowed upon the Church. The worst offenders are those who were originally its serfs. They have no wealth of their own; but they marry free women, so that they may beget free children, to whom they may make over the property of the Church Hence, though once very rich, the Church is now most poor.[1]

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[1] "Ibique (Rome) aliquantulum moratus, regni illius optimatibus pace gratiaque sui redimitis." *Ann. Quedlin.*, an. 1021.

[2] *Cf. Vita Meinwerci*, c. 26, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xi.

[3] Various dates have been assigned to this council as the MS. minutes of its proceedings do not give one. Some authorities refer it to 1018; but the date in the text seems better. *Cf.* Jaffé, sub 4041 (3079).

[4] Ap. Labbe, *Conc.*, ix. 819 f.

To attack the root of the evil, the Pope declared that the celibacy of the clergy must be insisted upon, and reminded his hearers that this had been enforced by the great council of Nice,[2] and that the letters[3] of Pope S. Leo I. made it plain that the law of celibacy was binding even on subdeacons He had no wish, he said, to introduce new laws, he only wished to remind them of old ones. He went on to recall to the memories of his hearers that even the priests of the Old Law were bound to live a celibate life during the seasons when it fell to their turn to serve the altar of God. Hence, as the priests of the New Law are always engaged in the service of God, they must always remain celibate. The law of celibacy was relaxed for the priests of the Old Law, but that was because the ancient dispensation required that the priests should belong exclusively to the tribe of Levi, whereas, under the New Law, they could be chosen from any section of the community.

He next proceeded to denounce most strongly those who, from being serfs of the Church had become clerics, and had taken to themselves wives, and went on to establish that the legal axiom that the social condition of the child followed that of its mother did not apply to the clergy.

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[1] "Sic ecclesia olim ditissima . pauperrima nostris est effecta temporibus" Ap Labbe, *Conc*, ix. 819 f.

[2] Canon 3

[3] *Cf* ep 14 Benedict also quoted Pope Siricius, who wrote (ep 1, n. 10), "Omnes sacerdotes atque levitæ insolubili lege constringimur ut a die ordinationis nostræ sobrietati ac pudicitiæ et corda nostra mancipemus et corpora"

First, because those who laid down that proposition had no right to make regulations of that nature for the clergy, and secondly, because in framing the axiom they had in view only the children of laymen, as, in the eyes of the law, clerics have no children. And if St. Paul has written (1 Cor. vii. 2), "For fear of fornication, let every man have his own wife," the apostle, said the Pope, is speaking only of the laity.

In fine, in order that what he has decided may reach the ends of the earth, and be observed, he has caused it to be expressed in the form of a decree of seven clauses. Under various penalties bishops, priests, deacons, and subdeacons are forbidden to have wives. All children born of such marriages are to be serfs of the Church, and any freeman who emancipates any such serfs, or assists in any way their acquiring property, renders himself liable to scourging, imprisonment, or loss of dignity.

The emperor, while thanking the Pope for his efforts to check the evil of clerical incontinence, added the seven synodal canons to the laws of the empire,[1] and attached very severe penalties to the breaking of them.

The council of Seligenstadt, August 12, 1022.

Soon after Henry reached Germany, the young and zealous Aribo, whom he had made archbishop of Maintz a year or two before, held a very important synod at Seligenstadt near Frankfort. The object of the synod was, as its convener declared, to bring about a greater uniformity in religious worship and discipline. Mention is here made of this council principally because its purport seems to have been misunderstood by some writers.[2] It has been said that it "passed several decrees with a view of strengthening the position of the bishop against the Pope." Two of the decrees of the council had reference to Rome. The sixteenth forbade any one to go to Rome without the permission of the diocesan authorities; and the eighteenth explained the cause of that prohibition. Some, it is there said, are so foolish that, when a penance has been imposed upon them for some serious sin, they will not submit to it, because they trust that the Pope forgives all the sins of those who go to Rome. Under these circumstances, the council has decided that they must first do their penance, and that they may then go to Rome with leave of their bishop, and with letters from him to the Pope with regard to the matter.[1]

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[1] "Omnia, quæ pro ecclesiæ reparatione synodaliter instituit paternitas tua . . . . approbo. . . . Et inter publica jura semper recipienda et humanis legibus solemniter inscribenda, hac nostra auctoritate . . . . corroboramus." Labbe, *l.c.*, p. 331.

[2] *E.g.* by Fisher, *The Medieval Empire*, ii. 95, who by a confusion of dates and an undue use of conjecture has misread the situation as

The reasonableness of these decrees taken together is obvious, and though Rome raised objections to some of the other decrees of this synod; it does not appear that any were urged against the two in question. Its second decree had made various new regulations with regard to the fasts of the ember days. These, "as opposed to reason and authority," were condemned "by the Roman Church, in all things and about all things fully guided by the *magisterium* of Peter."[2] As, then, the two decrees sixteen and eighteen could scarcely have been the cause why the Pope soon

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regards Aribo and Benedict. In his text he places the synod in the same year as the Mouzon interview (*i.e.* in 1023, see below), and yet in a note gives its date nearly correctly as August 22, 1022.

[1] Can. 18. "Quia multi tanta . . . . falluntur stultitia ut in aliquo capitali crimine inculpati, pœnitentiam a sacerdotibus suis accipere nolint, in hoc maxime confisi, ut Romam euntibus, Apostolicus omnia sibi dimittat peccata, sancto visum est Concilio," etc. *Cf. infra*, p. 195, on the case of Stephen of Auvergne.

[2] "Romana ecclesia, super fundamentum divinæ dispositionis rationabiliter ordinata, et contra novitatum adinventiones, rationi et auctoritati contrarias, magisterio Petri in omnibus et de omnibus pleniter informata, *hanc de jejunio quatuor temporum consitutionem* refutavit." *Vita Meinwerci*, c. 179, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xi. This *Life* was written in last quarter of the eleventh century.

after this interdicted Aribo from using his pallium, it has been *conjectured* that the motive of this action of Benedict was the fact that Aribo had proclaimed that Otto of Hammerstein must separate from his cousin Irmingard whom he had taken to wife. The truth is we do not know why Aribo fell into ill favour with the Pope. It is certain, however, that he wished to hold a council at Höchst (May 14, 1024). If an assembly of bishops was ever held there, only Aribo's suffragans attended it; and, from the letter they wrote to the Pope, it appears that Irmingard had been to Rome, and had irritated the Pope against him.[1]

This is all that is really known about this incident. Whether now, when stripped of conjecture, it will be regarded "as a glorious proof of the resolution of the German clergy to resist Romish pretensions," may perhaps be doubted.

he Truce f God.

The feeling of the urgent need of reform both in Church and State, and of the necessity of finding some remedy for the terrible evils of the times, was not confined to the Pope and the emperor. Wherever there was a worthy bishop or a Godfearing noble there was one whose heart was bleeding for the many woes of the period and for the oppressed poor. A remedy of no little value was to come at last from France, which had suffered so very acutely during the tenth century. Its bishops rightly regarded the endless violent breaches of the peace as one of the most deep-seated causes of the miseries of the age. Quite in accordance with their natural temperament,[2] the nobility of France especially were perpetually engaged in acts of brigandage or in private wars. The tillers of the soil were the most terrible sufferers from these hostilities. Their crops were destroyed, their cattle driven off, their vines cut down, and their houses burnt.[1] The unarmed monk, the pilgrim, the travelling merchant were equally a prey to the robber noble. The bishops at length began to apply themselves in earnest to try to provide against the growing disorders. Not only did they denounce the plunderers of priest and peasant in council after council,[2] but they induced nobles and people to form associations with them for the *peace of God.* Naturally, the rules of such associations founded in divers parts of Europe differed in detail; but they all had in view limiting the time or mode of making war.

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[1] *Cf.* Hefele, *Conc.*, vi. 250 ff., and 527 f.

[2] "Talis quippe consuetudo naturaliter innata est regno Gallorum, ut præter ceteras nationes velint exercere rabiem bellorum," says Gérard, the abbot of Sauve-majeure in the diocese of Bordeaux. *Mirac. S. Adalhardi*, i., c. 4, ap. Mabillon, *Acta SS. O. S. B.* (Sæc. iv.), I. 361.

The idea of the *truce* may, however, be gathered from a letter of the clergy of Gaul to those of Italy (1035–1041) "This," they say, "is the peace or truce of God . . . . which we beseech you to accept as we have done, viz. that all Christians, friends and enemies, neighbours and strangers, should keep true and lasting peace one with another from vespers on Wednesday to sunrise on Monday, so that during these four days and five nights all persons may have peace, and, trusting to this peace, may go about their business without fear of their enemies."[3]

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[1] Hence those who joined the association of the *Peace of God* formed by Warin, bishop of Beauvais, in 1023, undertook—"Ecclesiam nullo modo infringam. . . Clericum arma non portantem non assaliam . Prædam non faciam de bove . . . de agno . . . de equa ac pullo ejus indomito. Villanum et villanam aut mercatores non prendam . . nec flagellabo eos propter substantiam suam . . Mansiones non incendam. . . Vineas alterius non truncabo," etc *Cf* the whole of this most interesting document printed by Pfister (*Robert le Pieux*, p lx) from a Vatican MS

[2] Pfister, *l.c.*, p. 164.

[3] Ap *M. G. LL* , iv , pt. 1, n 419. *Cf.* 421, 2. According to William of Malmesbury (*De gest reg* , iv. c. 2), certain special seasons, such as Lent and Advent, were added to the days of the week during which

The emperor and the king of France meet at Mouzon, 1023.

The peace movement began in Aquitaine in 990, and soon spread.[1] "Peace, Peace, Peace!"[2] was everywhere the cry of the people. Robert the Pious, king of France, encouraged the new associations; and emperor and Pope saw the great possibilities for good they contained. The three began to dream of a universal peace. With a view to carry it into effect, Robert and Henry met at Mouzon on the Meuse (August 1023). Crowds flocked to the place, if only to see the famous emperor.[3] Terms of friendship were soon agreed upon, and a compact "of peace and justice" was arranged. To help on "the peace of God's holy Church and to succour suffering Christendom," it was deemed best to secure the co-operation of the Pope, and that they should meet him and all the bishops of Europe at Pavia.[4]

Unfortunately, however, for the general peace and happiness which Benedict and Henry, so united, and both so eager for reform, would, in union with Robert of France, have substantially furthered, the two chiefs of Western Christendom died (1024) within the year after this important meeting at Mouzon. The good work they had taken in hand was checked, and the Papacy was soon afterwards once again dragged in the mire. When at length a reformation of morals was accomplished, it was effected rather in spite of the imperial power than with its hearty co-operation. Meanwhile, however, the influence and number

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the truce had to be observed, when it was proclaimed at the great council of Clermont in 1095. *Cf. M. G. LL.*, ii., p. 55 ff, for its proclamation in Germany.

[1] In England the *Peace or Truce of God* was enforced in the beginning of the eleventh century in the laws of King Ethelred. *Leg.*, 108, 9.

[2] Raoul Glaber, *Hist.*, iv. 5, n. 16.

[3] *Gesta Pont. Camerac.*, iii. 37, ap. *P. L.*, t. 149. "Plurimi convenerunt ut dignitatem imperatoriam mirarentur, quam tantopere fama laudabat."

[4] *Ib.* *Cf.* Glaber, *l.c.*, iii. 2.

of the peace associations steadily increased, and in 1041 the *Truce of God* was formally established.

Cluny

While pushing on schemes of ecclesiastical and civil reform of imperial dimensions with kings and emperors, Benedict did not neglect to turn his attention to others, less splendid but perhaps on that very account more practical. To the best of his ability he defended the property of the monasteries,[1] then the only centres of peace[2] and learning, against the plundering barons; and he increased their possessions out of his own patrimony.[3] Sometimes he granted his favours without exacting any concrete acknowledgment,[4] but at other times he required a monetary payment for privileges conceded.[5] Now it was under spiritual penalties only that he interdicted interference with the monasteries, now under temporal by the imposition of a fine.[1] He asserted his authority over them in face of the civil power by granting them various privileges in the temporal order, as for instance when he granted an abbot the power of judging his subjects "without the concurrence of the secular authority, and despite the prohibition of any bishop."[2]

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[1] *Cf* Jaffé, 4034–5 (3076–7), 4051 (3086), for his exertions to preserve from the oppression of the adjoining nobles the monasteries of St Peter at Roda in Spain and of St Giles near Nismes *Cf* 4048 (3084) where he forbids the abbot of St Benignus (Dijon) to prevent one of his monks, who was a retired bishop, from excommunicating those who harassed his monastery. The bull in favour of the monastery of St Giles is a very strong one indeed Its ravagers are cursed at all times and places if they do not repent and amend.

[2] As an example of the deliberate foundation of monasteries as centres of peace, law, and order, we note the case of the little foundation of Postlip Priory near Winchcombe in Gloucestershire. It was erected in one of England's darkest days, viz. in the anarchical reign of Stephen William de Solers, "touched by the lachrymose entreaties" of his people at Postlip, with the consent of Abbot Robert of Winchcombe, founded a *cell* (capella) there, that both he and his people might have in it a place of refuge from robbers and wicked men *Cf* *Registrum Monast B. M. V et S. Cenhelmi de Winchelcumba*, p 81, ed. D. Royce, Exeter, 1892

[3] "Ex propria mea substantia" Ep. 6. He makes the grant on the condition that the monks should pray for him, for, as he quaintly says, "Qui si carnalia vobis concedimus, spiritualia a vobis percipere debemus"

[4] "Absque reddito vel censu." Ep. 5.

[5] *Cf.* ep. 18, where he demands that "binos solidos omni anno ad altare S Petri pro pensione persolvant." *Cf.* epp. 7, 17 and Jaffé, 3999 (3054), "rationibus S R. ecclesiæ tres argentei solidi."

But, in union with all who at this period had reform at heart, Benedict showed special interest in the congregation of Cluny, and in St. Odilo (†1040), its fifth abbot. Under this remarkably energetic man improvement in monastic discipline made steady progress; and, wherever the reform of Cluny was introduced, a higher moral tone manifested itself in the neighbouring district. Odilo was able to effect the more because, according to Jotsald, his disciple and biographer, he won the favour of all the great ones of the world—of King Robert of France, of the Emperor Henry II.,[3] and of the different Popes from Sylvester II. to Clement II. (†1046). As the Popes were ever speaking out in favour of Cluny, there was naturally a warm feeling for the Popes in the breasts of the Cluniac monks. The much-needed reform was to be accomplished by them in union with the Papacy. Some of them were always in Rome,[4] and thither more than once journeyed Odilo during the pontificate of Benedict. And it was through his representations[1] that, when King Robert was in Rome in 1016, he obtained from the Pope a bull (April 1),[2] addressed to the bishops of Burgundy, Aquitaine, and Provence, bidding them excommunicate all such as plundered the goods of any of the Cluniac monasteries. Benedict points out how the monastery of Cluny, made *free* by its founder, by the Pope, by the emperor of the Romans, and by the kings of the Franks and the Burgundians, was declared absolutely independent of all control except that of God and the Holy See. This privilege had been granted that the monks might be able to give themselves to the service of God and the care of the poor without restraint These ends, says the Pope, they have "devotedly fulfilled as far as human nature will allow." Now, however, they are so harassed by the greed and mad violence of the wicked that to the general loss they are hindered both from serving God and the poor. All ought to strive to help "the servants of Christ" in their difficulties, but he himself especially to whom, after God and St. Peter, the care of the congregation belongs. Then the Pope mentions by name some of their worst oppressors; and, after allowing them till the coming feast of St. Michael to repent and make restitution, declares them excommunicated if they do not avail themselves of the time which had been granted them for making satisfaction. The letter concludes with an exhortation to the bishops to whom it was addressed[3] to confirm the Pope's sentence, and to have it repeated by all their clergy; and it also calls upon the law-abiding nobles, in view of the Last Judgment, to help and defend the various monasteries of the Cluniac congregation.

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[1] Ep. 21. He imposes a fine of 100 gold mancuses "medietatem cameræ nostræ, et medietatem sæpe dicto monasterio." *Cf.* ep. 12, where there is mention of a fine of 100 pounds of pure gold, half of which has to go to the papal exchequer ("in sacrosancto Lateranensi palatio") and half to the outraged monastery. *Cf.* ep. 8.

[2] Ep. 10. *Cf.* ep. 18, where he declares certain monasteries free, "ab omni publica functione vel turpi servitio," and epp. 19 and 20.

[3] As *emperor* this Henry should strictly be called Henry I., as Henry the Fowler was never emperor.

[4] *Cluny au onzième siècle*, by Cucherat, p. 138 f. *Cf.* Pignot, *Hist. de l'ordre de Cluny jusqu'à la mort de Pierre le Venerable*, Paris, 1868.

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[1] Ep 16 The bull was issued in consequence "reclamatoria legatione dilectissimi filii Odilonis ejusdem loci abbatis"

[2] Not September 1, maintains Pfister, *Robert*, p lxxvi.

[3] One of the bishops personally addressed in this letter was Stephen of Auvergne. To him, on the same subject, Benedict sent a special letter (ep. 29), in which he exhorts him to hurl against the plunderers of monasteries "non levem lapillum, sed fortissimum excommunicationis jaculum."

"Because the monks of Cluny were free,"[1] and because they could thus count on the protection of Pope and king, the good work of converting[2] and civilising Europe which they had begun went on with undiminished zeal all during this century. Their monasteries were beacons of light to all the country round, and the men they produced, like flaming torches, carried the light of truth and morality into every land. The encouragement afforded the order by Benedict is not the least of his claims to grateful remembrance.

William, abbot of St. Benignus.

Of very different character to the mild and conciliatory Odilo, though a great friend of his, was William, abbot of St. Benignus at Dijon. In his zeal for reform he was hard and severe both to himself and to others. In him deep desire for the advancement of God's glory and his neighbour's good took the form of a devouring fire which instead of melting his heart with tender sympathy, dried up within his breast the "milk of human kindness." However, he is well worthy of our sympathy, for he toiled hard for the noblest of ends; and he succeeded in winning the goodwill of Benedict VIII.

In the course of the differences which bishops often had with the monasteries of their diocese, they not unfrequently had recourse to an old but very effective method of annoying them. They used to forbid them to hold divine service within their monasteries. Availing himself of the fact that, at the moment, his bishop, Bruno of Langres, was favourably disposed to the monks of St. Benignus, William begged the Pope to grant his monastery an indult by virtue of which the power to suspend divine service within its walls would be taken out of the bishop's hands altogether. In response to this request Benedict addressed him a bull in which he not only granted the petition, but took the monastery "under the apostolic protection." To support his action of forbidding the bishop to interdict the saying of Mass, etc, within the monastery, he quoted the authority of St. Gregory the Great,[1] as well as his maxim that whatever interferes with the routine of monastic life destroys its spirit.[2]

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[1] Thus are they spoken of in a charter in their behalf published in 1090 by Sancho I., king of Aragon (†1094), quoted by Cucherat, *l.c.*, p. 57.

[2] They were a great help to St. Stephen of Hungary in his efforts to convert his countrymen.

Bernard Taillefer.

A few years later Benedict came in contact with a man whose character and aims were different to those of "*More-rule* William," as he was called, but whose name was already closely associated with monks and monasteries, viz. Bernard Taillefer, count of Bésalu.[3] Like many another of his age, he was not, occasionally at least, averse to making the carrying out of his religious ideas contribute to the advancement of his general policy. And, again like many another of his age, he wished to render himself as independent of any overlord as possible. Hence he betook himself to Rome (1016) to secure the establishment of a bishopric within his own domain. Seeing that he would himself nominate the candidate for the position, he would, if successful, both strengthen his power within his dominions, and render himself more independent in his external relations. He was favourably known in Rome from his monastic foundations, and a bull[4] was published

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[1] Epp Greg, i. 12. [2] Ep. 2, *cf.* ep. 1 [3] See *supra*, p 147, n. 2

[4] Ep. 17. The establishment of the bishopric "a nobis flexis genibus suis cum osculo pedum nostrorum petierunt" *Cf.* ep. 18 In the abbey *de' Roccettini* at Fiesole there is to be found the original of another bull of Benedict VIII., issued in this year (1017). It is interesting, because written on parchment, and serves to prove what we have

(January 26, 1017) granting the petition which had been urged "on bended knee and with the kissing of the Pope's feet." Benedict, however, reserved to himself and to his successors the right of consecrating the bishops of the new see, and added: "But that the bishop-elect may not appear empty in our sight, we ordain that after his consecration he offer one pound of pure gold, not in return for his consecration but to show his subjection to our Church. At the same time we forbid him to wage war on Christians for any reason whatsoever, and we forbid any person high or low to tempt him so to do." But neither Pope nor Count was destined to get his own way. The bishops, whose jurisdiction the new creation would have curtailed, contrived to render the papal decree inoperative.

Robert of France and Gauzlin.

This nomination or appointment of bishops by local magnates introduces us to one of the great evils of this age—the want of real freedom in episcopal elections. In accordance with the canon law of the period, bishops ought to have been elected by the clergy and people of the diocese, and then have received the investiture of the temporalities of their see from the king or some other *overlord.* But as the bishops were temporal rulers, it was only natural that the overlord should strive to have bishops who would be *his men* in every sense of the phrase. Hence in an age when so much that had might on its side was necessarily right, there was practically no freedom of election in the case of bishoprics and of the greater abbeys. Robert *the Pious* of France was as great an offender in this respect as any other ruler, and sometimes even procured the assistance of the Pope to help him to beat down opposition.

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already stated, viz. that in this century the papal chancery began to use parchment instead of papyrus. *Cf. Archivio storico italiano*, serie v., t. xi., an. 1893.

Against their wishes he had forced the monks of Fleury to accept, as the successor of abbot Abbo, his own natural brother Gauzlin.[1] Then (*c.* 1013) he nominated him to the important See of Bourges. But, as the monks of Fleury had already done, the people, with their viscount, Gauzfred, proclaimed that "it was not becoming that the son of a concubine should rule in the Church."[2] Robert turned to the Pope, and the new archbishop went himself to Rome. As Gauzlin's personal character stood very high, and as the policy of Benedict was to gain legitimate influence over the great ones of the world that he might thus be able to work more efficiently for the promotion of peace, he made no difficulty in dispensing Gauzlin from the canonical irregularity caused by his illegitimate birth He sent him the pallium, and threatened to excommunicate the viscount of Bourges if he did not receive the archbishop.[3] Some five years, however, elapsed before the joint temporal and spiritual arms of king and pontiff were able to overcome the resistance of the people of Bourges.

Aquileia and Grado.

Benedict was also drawn into the interminable dispute between the patriarchs of Aquileia and of Grado, of which we have had to speak in preceding volumes.[4] In the days of John XIII., the patriarch of Aquileia had reasserted the original rights of that see. But that pontiff, in response to a request from the duke of Venice (Peter IV., Candiano, 959–976), and from the patriarch of Grado, decided (967) in synod, in conjunction with Otho I., that the See of Grado was the metropolitan of the whole of Venetia.[1] Though this decision was reaffirmed by Sergius IV.,[2] the affair was reopened in 1023. The patriarch of Aquileia in that year was a German of distinguished birth, the warlike Poppo, who led one of the divisions of the army of Henry I. when he invaded Apulia. "Thirsting to bring the church of Grado under his sway by the help of the emperor,"[3] Poppo sent to beg for justice from Benedict VIII., and adjured him to summon Ursus Orseolo of Grado (1018–1045) to Rome. Duly cited by Benedict, Ursus pleaded that he feared the power of the emperor, and treachery on the part of Poppo. The Pope admitted the justice of his contention; but not so his adversary, whom chance soon after greatly favoured. The duke of Venice (Otto Orseolo), and the patriarch of Grado, who was his brother, were compelled by trouble at home to fly to Istria. Fraudulently representing himself as the exiles' friend, Poppo was admitted within the walls of Grado. Once inside, he treated it as a conquered city, and by a further fraud[4] obtained an acknowledgment of his claims from John XIX. His deceits, however, were not crowned with final success. The Venetians received the exiles back, and once again for a time was the Aquileia-Grado dispute settled by their recovery of Grado; and that, too, though Poppo again had recourse to violence a year or two later.[1]

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[1] "Attribuit (Robert) illi (Gauzlin) . . . abbatiam S. Benedicti, quæ est caput totius ordinis monastici, et episcopatum Bituricensem." Helgaud, *in vit. Roberti*

[2] Ademar, *Chron*, iii. 39.

[3] *Cf* the *life* of Gauzlin, by Andrew of Fleury (†1056), ed L Delisle, in *Mem de la Soc. archéol. de l'Orléanais*, 1854; and ed Ewald in *Neues Archiv*, 1878, iii. 351 ff There are also records of Benedict's sending the pallium to the archbishops of Old Ragusa, in Dalmatia, Jaffé, 4042 (3080), of Salerno, epp. 15 and 23; and of Trier, ep 14 As a sign of the times we may note that Gauzlin returned home with various ornaments and relics (relics of the winding-sheet—*sudarium*—of our Lord), "omni ornamentorum speciei preponendas," but acquired "mille solidorum dono adeptas"! *Vit.*, c. 20

[4] *Cf.* i, pt. i., p 317, pt. ii., p 166; ii., pp 221, 254

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[1] Dandolo, *Chron.*, viii. 14, n. 17.

[2] *Ib.*, ix. 2, n. 2.

[3] *Ib.*, n. 10.

[4] *Ib.*, n. 13. "Addens quoque iniquitatem super iniquitatem, Popo . . . . et de subjectione Insulæ et Ecclesiæ Gradensis, tacita veritate, privilegium obtinuit. *Cf.* ep. 9 of Pope John XIX., ap. *P. L.*, t. 141; ep. 7 of Benedict IX., *ib.*; and Dandolo, *Chron.*, l. ix. c. 3.

Poland and Peter's Pence.

During the reign of Benedict the valuable chronicle of Thietmar of Merseburg was brought to a close (1018) by the death of its author. Before taking our leave of it, we would gladly quote from it once more. The extract taken concerns Boleslas I., the founder of Poland,[2] on whom, as the opponent of his patron (the Emperor Henry II.), and as the ally of Ardoin,[3] "falsely called king by the Lombards," Thietmar is very severe. The Polish chief was to have accompanied Henry into Italy (1013); but, "false as usual to his promises," he did not put in an appearance when the emperor's forces mustered. Our chronicler goes on to insinuate that he was equally untrue to the Pope; for he relates that, by the bearer of a letter, Boleslas declared to Benedict that it was fear of the snares of the king which had prevented him from sending to Rome "the tax (*census*) he had promised to Peter, the Prince of the Apostles."[4] Considering the customs of the age, this tax had perhaps been imposed by Pope Sylvester as a sign of the independence of the Church of Poland with regard to any German metropolitan, and of its direct dependence on the See of Rome. Of course it may have been a voluntary offering of Peter's Pence of which England had set the example; but, most probably, it was the sign that Poland, as we have seen, had placed itself as a nation under the protection of the Apostolic See. Certain it is that in later ages it was the last-mentioned signification that was attached to the *tax* which Poland still continued to pay. In the *Liber Censuum* there is a record[1] that Waladislao, duke of Poland, had to pay to Rome four gold marks every three years. This Waladislao was Wladislas *Plwacz* (The Spitter), duke of Kalisz and Great Poland, one of the four principalities into which Poland was split at the time. To ensure his independence he had applied for the protection of the Holy See. He received from Innocent III. the following reply[2] (May 13, 1211): "Under our protection and that of Blessed Peter we receive you and all your goods. And *in token of this protection* you will, every third year, pay to us and our successors four marks *ad Polonie pondus*." And still later, Ladislaus *Lokietesk* (The Short), 1306–1333, who again brought unity to Poland by welding into one several of the previously independent duchies, and who, after receiving from Rome the regal crown, levied a poll-tax for St. Peter,[3] declared more than once that the annual tax paid by the Poles to the Apostolic See was the mark of their subjection to it.[4] Though, therefore, it is certain that at some period the fact of the payment of Peter's Pence came to be regarded as a proof that the Pope was the suzerain of Poland, it can only be said to be highly probable that the money received by Benedict VIII. from that country was the sign of its dependence on Rome.

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[1] Dandolo, *Chron.*, l. ix. c. 3, n. 1; *vid. infra*, p 220. *Cf.* Tassini, *La questione del Pat. di Venezia* (*Aquileia*), p 63 ff, Genoa, 1906. The value of this work is lessened by its controversial tone.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 73.

[3] "Hujus (Bolizlavi) compar et quasi collega Hardwigas (Ardoin)." Thiet, *Chron*, vi. 57.

[4] "Papæ questus est . . . . ut non liceret sibi, propter latentes regis insidias, promissum principi App Petro persolvere censum" *Ib*, 56. The tax was known as Swatopetrse, or Swantopetre, etc. *Cf. M. G. SS.*, xxix., p. 509 n.

England.

The country in which the "Denarius S. Petri" or Romescot had had its birth was, in the early years of Benedict VIII., in dire distress. Attracted by the weakness of Ethelred the Unready (978–1016), the Danes had renewed their devastating descents on our shores. The good effected by the monastic revival of St. Dunstan was at once checked, and, though the strong reign of Canute stemmed the decline, the Anglo-Saxon Church and State both began to sink to their ruin (1066). However, during most of the reign of Benedict, England was happy. Ethelred's feeble payments of Danegeld and cruel massacres had ended in the establishment of the powerful Canute as ruler of the English people (1016–1035). Among the "very great and learned men" who, says William of Malmesbury,[1] flourished in England in his time, "the principal was Ethelnoth," surnamed The Good, archbishop of Canterbury. Fortunately he had great influence with Canute; for we read how he "encouraged even the king himself in his good actions by the authority of his sanctity and restrained him in his excesses."[2] Of the relations between England and Rome in the pontificate of Benedict the little knowledge we have is furnished us by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* "In this year" (1022), it records, "Archbishop Aethelnoth went to Rome, and was there received by Benedict, the venerable Pope, with great worship; and he with his own hands placed his pall upon him, and very honourably hallowed him archbishop, and blessed him on the Nones of October (October 7). And the archbishop therewith immediately, on that same day, sang Mass; and then after with the Pope himself honourably took refection, and also of himself took the pall from St. Peter's altar, and then joyfully went home to his own country."[3]

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[1] P. 151, ed. Fabre.

[2] Potthast, *Regesta*, 4244.

[3] *Chron. Aulæ Regiæ*, c. 5, ad an. 1320. "A sede apostolica obtinuit coronam regalem Polonie . . . . incipitque denarium S. Petri de unoquoque capite humano sedi Apost. decimaliter solvere." Cited by Fabre, *Études sur le Liber Censuum*, p. 128.

[4] *Cf.* Raynaldi *Ann. Eccles.*, ad an. 1319, n. 2 f.; an. 1324, n. 54.

Along with Ethelnoth there went to Rome for justice Leofwine, abbot of Ely, who had, he said, been unjustly deprived of his abbey. After he had "cleared himself of everything that was said against him, as the Pope instructed him, with the witness of the archbishop, and of all the company that was with him," Benedict reinstated him in his position.[1]

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[1] *De gest regum*, ii., c. 11.

[2] *Ib.*

[3] *Anglo-Saxon Chron*, ed. R. S., ii. 125, 6.

Death of Benedict VIII.

From the necrology of S. Cyriacus[2] it is clear that the active and useful career of Benedict VIII. came to an end on April 9, 1024. By Raoul Glaber[3] he is called "a most holy man"; and in so speaking of him the erratic monk went not astray, for with unflagging energy did he toil for those entrusted to his charge. His hand and his heart, his courage and his intellect[4] were ever at their service. He did all that lay in his power to beget and to foster a spirit of patriotism; he encouraged and developed the growing feeling of the urgent need for reform, and especially did he strive that the blessings of peace should be spread far and wide.

Church building.

In the beginning of the century which Benedict adorned "there arose throughout the world, but especially in Italy and in *the Gauls*, a great zeal for church-building; so that even where the existing edifices were beautiful, and did not stand in any need of alteration, still, in the generous rivalry which set in between different peoples as to who were to have the most glorious churches, they were nevertheless replaced. It was as though the world itself, shaking off its lethargy and decrepitude, clad itself in the white robe of churches. Not only were almost all the cathedrals and monasteries rebuilt, but even the chapels of the villages."[1] It may be more than doubtful whether Benedict himself found time for church-building, but there can be no doubt that he was one of the most earnest in promoting that reforming movement of which this outburst of enthusiasm for the greater glory of God's House, recorded by our wandering historian Glaber, was one of the manifestations. And if Arnold of Vohburg,[2] who wrote about this time, could speak not only of the Christian activity which everywhere met the eyes, but of new churches and other ecclesiastical and charitable institutions in course of erection as well within as without the city of Rome,[3] we may see, in all this material improvement, if not the hand, at least the spirit of Benedict. For the spirit of Benedict was powerful. He was of the rarer number of the Popes who were great both at home and abroad. Through his brother, whom he dominated, he was supreme in Rome, and through his influence with the Emperor Henry, with King Robert of France, and with Duke William III. the Great, duke of Aquitaine,[4] one of the most distinguished princes of his time and "an ardent lover of the Holy See," he had great power abroad.

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[1] *Anglo-Saxon Chron.*, ed. R. S., ii. 125, 6. *Cf.* John Bromton (close of thirteenth century), *Chron.*, ed. Twysden, p. 908. "Abbaciam injuste sibi ablatam P. Benedicto jubente rehabuit et possedit."

[2] *V. supra* under John XVII. "V. Id. Apr. Benedictus papa." This date is in approximate agreement with various German necrologies, ap. Jaffé, sub 4059.

[3] *Hist.*, iii. 1.

[4] Jotsald, S. Odilo's disciple, says of the Pope that he was "prudenti ingenio solertissimus, et quantum ad mundanum culmen attinet, urbanis causis aptissimus." *In vit. S. Odil.*, ii. 14.

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[1] Glaber, *Hist.*, iii., c. 4, n. 13

[2] A man of noble rank, who became first a monk and then provost of the monastery of St. Emmeran of Ratisbon.

[3] *De miraculis S. Emmeram*, l. ii, ap. *P. L.*, t. 141, p. 1051. "Quæ (Roma) in tantum excrevit in divino cultu ut, pro ruinis murorum et veterum fanorum, surgant *quotidie* innumera ædificia ecclesiarum sive monasteriorum. E quorum incredibili numero, ut audivi a quodam sene, qui se dixit nutritum fuisse in ea civitate, viginti possidentur a sanctimonialibus, quadraginta a monachis, sexaginta a canonicis, exceptis his quæ extra civitatem sunt, et aliis ecclesiis sive capellis quæ in Urbe abundant Age jam, frater, qui stomacharis contra eos qui *dicunt* Romam rerum maximam." This interesting passage shows that a great amount of quiet good was being done within the disorderly walls of Rome, and that it was still of great account among the nations

[4] He became a monk in 1029 and died in 1030 *Cf.* Ademar, *Chron.*, iii. 41 "Potentissimus, ... ædificator . . . ecclesiarum et præcipue

Legends. The high character, however, of Benedict did not place him out of the reach of the shafts of calumny. Apparently on the sole evidence of one of the many baseless legends carefully recorded by St. Peter Damian, he has been accused of being the slave of avarice. Whether or not the saint, who was much more credulous than critical, has confused Benedict with his brother or nephew, is not worth inquiring. He has two stories to tell of him. The first, which is unobjectionable enough, is to be found in his *Life*[1] of St. Odilo, for whom Benedict had a great affection, and whom he provided with all necessaries on the occasions of his visits to Rome.

After he had departed this life Benedict appeared to John, bishop of Porto, and told him he was in pain, but said he could be freed from suffering by the prayers of St. Odilo, which he entreated him to procure for him. As soon as he heard of his patron's condition, the saint ordered prayers and masses to be offered for him throughout the whole congregation of Cluny.[2] Soon after the Pope appeared to him in glory, and thanked the saint for having obtained his relief. Hence St. Peter Damian argues the great merits of St. Odilo, inasmuch as a sovereign pontiff, who in an especial manner holds the

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amator S. Eccles. Romanae . . . . Romani pontifices eum venientem Romam sic reverenter excipiebant, ac si esset eorum augustus, omnisque Romanus senatus patrem eum sibi adclamabat."

[1] It is merely a collection of miracles, and is but an abridgment of the saint's *Life* by his disciple Jotsald, who, as we have seen, had a high opinion of Benedict. Jotsald's account occurs L. ii., c. 14, ap. *P. L.*, t. 142.

[2] *In vit. S. Odilonis*, p. 937, ap. *P. L.*, t. 144. "Sacrificium Deo salutaris mysterii offerri ; . . . . per omnia sui regiminis monasteria ejusdem sanctionis edicta mandavit."

keys of the Church,[1] could only be freed from punishment by his prayers.

The other story, on which the charge of greed of gold is preferred against Benedict, is of a different character.[2] The bishop of Caprea is said to have seen Benedict some time after his death sitting on a coal-black charger, and to have heard him say that he was in terrible torments but had hopes of delivery if he were helped. "Go," he said, "to my brother, who is now Pope, and tell him I shall be redeemed when for my salvation he has distributed the money he will find in a certain chest, for what he has already given to the poor on my behalf has not benefited me in the least, as it was money accumulated by violence and injustice."

The Jews.

Equally under the heading of legends we would class the following story of Ademar of Chabannes.[3] Throughout all the Middle Ages, and even up to this very day, the lot of the Jews has not been very enviable. But it is well known that in Rome,[4] though they had to suffer certain more or less trifling disabilities, their position was so much better than in other parts of Christendom that, as we have noted before, it was called "the paradise of the Jews." Hence it is that we believe that the story we are about to tell is unworthy of credence, the more so because the very next tale Ademar tells about the Jews is by other historians referred to another man and to another period. "At this time (viz. *c.* 1020), on Good Friday, after the *adoration of the cross*, Rome was shaken by an earthquake and rent by furious gales. Benedict was subsequently assured by one of the Jews that at that very hour a crucifix was derided in all their synagogues. On careful inquiry being made, the Pope, convinced of the truth of the charge, had the authors of the outrage beheaded. The winds dropped with the falling of the culprits' heads."

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[1] *In vit. S. Odilonis*, p 937, ap. *P. L.*, t 144 "Qui claves ecclesiæ præ cunctis mortalibus tenuit."

[2] It is in his nineteenth opusculum (*De abdicatione episc.*, c. 3), addressed to Nicholas II, ap. *P. L*, t 145.

[3] *Chron*, iii 52

[4] The Jewish writer Abrahams (*Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 401), allows that at home at least "it was almost a tradition with the Popes of Rome to protect the Jews"; Bédarride points out that the amount of Jewish persecution in Italy generally was very small; and Rodocannachi (*Le Saint-Siège et les Juifs*), who quotes him, says (p. 3) that, with few exceptions the Popes ever constituted themselves the defenders of the Jews when the rigour of princes against them became excessive.

Coins. Though we have evidence that Benedict VIII. coined money,[1] it is usually supposed that no coins of his are extant. Pizzamiglio,[2] however, believes, seemingly on solid grounds, that a coin assigned by Promis[3] to Benedict VII. really belongs to this Pope. The coin in question is quite different in type to the other coins of Benedict VII.; and, what is fatal to its being regarded as belonging to him, it does not bear the name of the Emperor Otho II., as the others do. Despite the latter fact, however, Promis still argued that the coin belonged to Benedict VII., because he supposed that he outlived Otho. The reverse is the fact.[4] But, when Benedict VIII. became Pope, the imperial throne was vacant; and hence we may well conclude that the coin in question, which, as we have said, does not bear the name of any emperor, was struck during the first few months of his pontificate.

Power at home. This question of coinage suggests the advisability of adducing one or two more facts from the letters of Benedict to illustrate a remark already made to the effect that he was as powerful at home as he was influential abroad.

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[1] In a deed of 1021 (*Reg. Sublac.*, f. 127, ap. Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv., pt. i., p. 78 n.) there is mention of "denarios bonos *novos* Romane monete."

[2] *Prime Monete papali*, p. 59.

[3] No. 12, tav. ix.

[4] Benedict VII., †July 10, 983; Otho II., †December 7, 983.

They will show him not only freely disposing of property belonging to the Holy See, but granting such privileges as show his independent power in the province of Rome and on the Adriatic. By the lagunes of Comacchio the Roman Church had a very large estate (Massa Fiscalia and Plebe S. Vitalis), the people on which were no doubt then[1] as now engaged in the lucrative fish-trade of the shallows. Addressing its head men and "all our men," he confirms to them all their ancient rights,[2] on condition of their receiving once a year for three days papal officials who were to make regulations for them, and of their paying each year to the Holy Roman Church a pair of oxen or twenty solidi of such a number of denarii[3] as are there current, and at Christmas time sixty sides of bacon The Pope also decided that, if any of the men on the *massa* died without an heir or intestate, his property was to be divided among the rest, and that any breach of his decree by any of the great ones of Church or State was to be punished by a fine of one hundred pounds of pure gold, half to be paid to the papal exchequer and half to the men of the *massa*.

Similar acts of authority are manifest in the long document[4] which he addressed (1018) to Benedict, bishop of Porto By this bull, most interesting and useful from a topographical[5] point of view, he confirmed to the bishops of Porto their privileges and property in perpetuity. The property of the bishopric, which consisted of fortified places, lands, salt-pits, woods, vineyards, etc., was not confined to Porto and its neighbourhood, but was to be found in various parts along the Tiber, *e.g.* at Maliana, and in the Trastevere. To the inhabitants of some of the bishop's possessions the Pope grants the privilege of owing service, and of being subject to no one but the bishop of Porto; and he declares the bishop himself heir of all those who die intestate or without heirs "in the city of Porto, in the Trastevere, in the island of Lycaonia, or wherever else the rights of his bishopric extend." Benedict also concedes certain taxation rights and monopolies[1] to the bishop, and grants him the right of ordaining such priests and other clerics as were required for the Trastevere, except where there was question of a cardinal-priest, deacon, or sub-

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[1] For, in describing the boundaries of the estate, Benedict mentions "the fish dike (*fossa piscaria*)" as one of them.

[2] "Omnem vestram antiquam consuetudinem, id est omnem donationem seu functionem publicam." See the diploma ap. Theiner, *Cod. Dip. S. Sedis*, i. 9 Theiner, however, erroneously ascribes it to Benedict X *Cf.* Jaffé, 4046.

[3] "Vel solidos denariorum numero viginti, quales ibidem currunt, et in Nativitate domini spatulas de porcis numero sexaginta." *Ib*

[4] Ep. 22.

[5] From it, for instance, we learn that the island of the Tiber was still called *Insula Lycaonia* This name first appears in the Age of the

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Martyrs. The same name is given to it in the *Mirabilia Urbis Romæ*, n. 16. As the worship of Æsculapius, to whom a temple was built on the island 292 B.C., was introduced into Rome from Epidaurus in Laconia, could the Lycaonia be a corruption of Laconia?

Again, in giving the exact limits of the diocese (*parochia*) of Porto, "that it may not be encroached upon by any other bishop," Benedict makes it clear that the first bridge below the island of the Tiber was then known as St. Mary's Bridge, and that the Pons Antoninus (Ponte Sisto), whence he begins the delineation of the boundaries, and the Pons Probi or Theodosii *in Riparmea* (in ripa marmorea, "juxta marmoratam," says the Pope) at the foot of the Aventine, were in ruins. It further appears from this bull that both the island and the Trastevere, "except the Catholic churches of S. Maria in Trastevere, St. Crisogonus, and St. Cæcilia, and the monasteries of St. Pancratius and SS. Cosmas and Damian," were under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Porto. On the island Benedict also makes mention of the churches of Blessed John *Baptistæ*, really *Calibitæ*, and of St. Adalbert. Hence Marucchi (*Basiliques et églises de Rome*, p. 466) is mistaken in assigning 1029 as the date of the first mention of this church of the Emperor Otho III. Here I may note that a bad translation causes a confused account of this bull to be given in Gregorovius, *Rome*, iii. 559.

[1] *E.g.* the right of establishing water mills or bridges in that part of the river which flowed by Porto.

deacon or of an acolyte "of the sacred Lateran palace." Finally, under penalty of a heavy fine, the papal official, whether duke, count, or apostolic missus, who may at any time be the governor of Porto,[1] is forbidden to infringe any of the bishop's rights.

Papal government of the cities round Rome.

From this letter it appears also that while the bishop of Porto had certain powers of local government and rate-collecting, he was not supreme even in Porto itself, and his levying of local dues had not to interfere with the taxes which had to be paid to the papal treasury While the bishop had rate-collectors in his district,[2] his city was still under a papal count (*comes*), who would see that the rights of the papal exchequer were respected.[3] And what is true of Porto is no doubt true of the other cities under the Pope's control, though in many of them the papal duke, count, viscount, chamberlain, missus or other official in command of a city or district would not always be hampered by persons with such extensive privileges as the bishop of Porto.

In the lawless times of which we are now writing, authority was only held by the man of will and resource Such a man was Benedict VIII., and hence he exercised real sway over the patrimony of St. Peter.

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[1] "Aut qualiscunque interveniens potestas, quæ de ipsa civitate Portuense dominatum tenuerit." *L.c.*

[2] *Castaldatus*; the collectors are called *castaldiones*, *castaldi*, or *mandatarii*. The rate due to the bishop was known as *castaldaticus*

[3] "Tamen si nostro comiti vel nostrorum successoribus placuerit, de illo quod ad nostrum palatium pertinet fidelitatem juret (viz. the bishop's *castaldus*)" *L c.*

JOHN XIX.

A.D. 1024–1032.

Sources.—Some two dozen letters ap. *P. L.*, t. 141.

Romanus, layman and Pope, 1024.

On the death of Benedict, his brother[1] Romanus, "Consul and Duke, Senator of all the Romans, and vestararius of the sacred palace,"[2] made use of his influence and of his money[3] to secure his election to the vacant see. The same day[4] saw him Duke Romanus and Pope John XIX.[5] "Roman insolence," caustically writes Raoul Glaber,[6] "has invented this silly method of covering their guile. They change the name of the man whom their whim has made (supreme) pontiff and call him after some great Pope, so that any want of merit in their candidate may be covered by the glory of his name." Romanus became Pope in the month of April,[1] for we are told[2] that his succession followed immediately on his brother's death.

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[1] *L. P.*

[2] *Chron. Farf.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, ii., pt. ii., p. 524, and the document in the note on p. 523. *Cf.* also a letter of Halinard, abbot of S. Benignus of Dijon, "Domno illo s. palatii vestarario primo senatori nec non unico Romanorum Duci Eiquoco" (*sic*, for Equivoco, *i.e.* Romanus, whose name made him "equivocus Romanorum"), ap. *P. L.*, t. 142, p. 1346.

[3] "Cui (Benedicto) in episcopatum successerat largitione pecuniæ, repente ex laicali ordine neoffitus constitutus est presul." Raoul, *Hist.*, iv., c. 1, n. 4.

[4] "Qui uno eodemque die et laicus fuit et pontifex." Bonizo, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 353; *cf.* his *Ad amicum*, iv., and Romuald of Salerno, *Chron.*, an. 1025, ap. *R. I. SS.*, vii.

[5] That he was known as John XIX. and not XX., as he is sometimes called, is clear from contemporary documents, ap. *Archivio della Soc. Rom. di Storia*, xxii., p. 43 f.; xxiii., p. 195 f.; xxxiv., p. 456.

[6] *L.c.*

Though, therefore, John does not seem to have entered the inner sanctuary honourably, once within it, he appears to have proved himself no unworthy successor of his distinguished brother. He was conscious of his shortcomings, he felt that his secular duties took up too great a share of his time; but he adopted a noble method of trying to atone for his defects. "Impeded," he wrote, "by the business of this world, I am very far from having attained to perfection; still, I ground my hope of obtaining God's grace and pardon on my determination ever to give my support to the just and to the good."[3] By rigid adherence to this principle of conduct, and by his ready acceptance of the influence of good men, John XIX. made himself respected, like his brother, both at home and abroad.

William of Dijon admonishes John on simony.

He was one of the Popes who came under the severe censorship of that eminent Cluniac reformer William, abbot of St. Benignus (Dijon).[4] How he accepted his strictures may be gauged from an incident furnished us by Raoul Glaber in his *Life* of his master. Thinking that the Pope did not exert himself sufficiently (*minus curantem*) against simony, which was then rampant all over the world, and "especially in Italy," he did not hesitate to write to him in strong terms urging him to check the terrible abuse. "Let it be enough for men," he wrote, "that Christ was sold once for the salvation of all of us. . . . You, who are but pastors in name, see whither the flock of Christ is following you. If the stream is tainted near its source, how foul must it be at a distance from it. The cure of souls is sold to many to their own damnation. I would wish all you pastors and bishops to be mindful of the judge who stands before the gate with his axe in his hand."[1] So far was John from being annoyed at the outspokenness of the saint that he took its lesson to heart, thanked him for writing to him, "and glorified God in him." In these expressions there is no reason to doubt that the Pope was in earnest. He proved himself a friend of Cluny—"conspicuous by its holiness in well-nigh every nation," as he styled it—and of its reforming abbots. His name has come down to us among the pontiffs who helped on the good work it was doing. "At the prayer of Odilo and the intervention of the Emperor Henry," he renewed[2] the privileges of the famous monastery, and wrote to kings, archbishops, and bishops[3] to exhort them to respect its immunities, assuring them that to harass Cluny was "to seek to tear our very limbs asunder."[4]

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[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 204. Besides, a document quoted by Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv., pt i, p 31 n, shows he was already Pope on May 1

[2] "Huic (Benedicto) *plane mox* ut obiit germanus ejus Joannes in apostolica dignitate successit." St. Peter Damian, *in vit. S. Odilonis*, ap. *P. L*, t. 144, p. 937.

[3] Ep. 1.

[4] His disciple, Raoul Glaber, says (*in vit. S. Guillel.*, c. 19, ap. *P L*, t. 142) he had such influence with the Popes "ut quidquid illis suggessisset, sive per se sive per aliquam legationem, libentissime implere studebant." In these days when so much is heard of "free education," it is instructive to find (*ib.*, c. 14) that William gave not only "the benefit of learning" to all—to the free and to the slaves, to the rich and to the poor—who came to any of his foundations, but to the poor even food—"plures . . utpote rerum tenues, accipiebant victum"

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[1] *In vit. S. Guillel.*, c. 19, ap. *P. L.*, t. 142.

[2] Ep. 6, an. 1027.

[3] Epp. 11, 12, 13; and in his letter to King Robert (ep. 11) he strongly denounces the "exsecrabile negotium" by which some of the king's *men* obtained ecclesiastical positions.

[4] Ep. 12. Though most of the *letters* of John which we possess are privileges, *i.e.* legal documents, sentences like the above, revealing the man, are occasionally found in them.

The Greeks would buy the title of ecumenical, 1024.

Whether the authorities of Constantinople also had heard that the Pope did not inveigh against simony, or whether because they were encouraged by their success under John XI. (933), when they bought the free use of the pallium,[1] at any rate, believing, as they always did, that "every man has his price," the Emperor Basil II. and the patriarch Eustathius sent (1024) emissaries to Rome to try to purchase the consent of the Pope to allow "the Church of Constantinople to be in the East what the Church of Rome was in the whole world."[2] To smooth the path to success, they began by giving great presents not only to the Pope himself, but also to all such as they judged likely to be of service to them. To quote one of Raoul's proverbs, they knew that "a golden dagger easily breaks a wall of iron"; and though, he adds, love of money might well at this period be called the queen of the world, she had her special abode among the Romans. A certain number were gained over by the Greek gold, and began to take steps to arrange for the affair to be transacted in secret. "But to no purpose. For Truth itself cannot be deceived which promised: 'The gates of hell shall not prevail against the church' (St. Matt. xvi. 18). While the plotters fondly imagined that their work was being satisfactorily brought to a conclusion in secret, word of what they were attempting was being rapidly spread throughout all Italy. The excitement and tumult which ensued cannot be described."[3] The bishops and abbots "of the

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[1] Liutprand, *Legat.*, c. 62. *Cf. supra*, vol. iv. p 199 n

[2] They asked, "quatinus, cum consensu Romani pontificis, liceret ecclesiam Constantinopolitanam in suo orbe, sicuti Roma in universo, universalem dici et haberi." Raoul Glaber, *Hist*, iv 1, n. 2. *Cf.* Hugh of Flavigny, *Chron*, ii. 17, who seems to be here following Glaber. He says the patriarch asked "ut sua æcclesia sicut et Romana universalis diceretur."

[3] Raoul, *l c.*, *cf.* Hugh.

Gauls" (Galliarum) took up the matter with vigour. Some instantly set out for Rome in person, others defended the position of the Church of Rome in writing, "adducing authorities which could not be gainsaid."[1] William of Dijon took cognisance of the reports, and wrote to the Pope a letter, "brief indeed, but weighty and to the point." "By the words of the Apostles of the Gentiles," he began, "we are taught that superiors are not to be blamed. Still, he elsewhere says: 'I am become foolish; you have compelled me' (2 Cor. xii. 11). Hence with filial devotion we beg you to ask a friend, as Our Lord asked S. Peter: 'What do men say of me?'" Then, noting that we must pray the Light of the world that the Pope may so shine before men as to give light to all those in the Church in order that they may walk in the way of God's commandments, he continued: "But there is a report concerning you at which such as fail to be scandalised must be far from being full of divine love. For if the power of the Roman Empire, which in the whole earth was once one, is now split up and held by various different rulers, (it is otherwise) with the power of binding and loosing. By an inviolable gift, that has for ever devolved on the successors of Peter, to be exercised by them over all the earth.[2] This we have said, in order that you may see that it is through vainglory that the Greeks have made the request from you which they have done. In fine, also, we beg you, as becomes the universal bishop, to devote yourself with greater energy to the reform of the

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[1] Hugh.

[2] Raoul, *l.c.* "Quoniam, licet potestas Romani imperii, quæ olim in orbe terrarum monarches viguit, nunc per diversa terrarum innumeris regatur sceptris, ligandi solvendique in terra et in cœlo potestas dono inviolabili incombit magisterio Petri." It would certainly be more satisfactory if we had some other authority for this incident than R. Glaber. Still, although he is an erratic genius, he was in the very best position to know of the doings of William of Dijon, and he does not appear to have been a deliberate fabricator.

Church." However much the Pope may have been disposed to be swayed by the glitter of gold, the storm which the attempt of the Greeks raised in Western Europe must soon have driven away from him all thoughts of gratifying them. We have said *may have been disposed*, for it must be apparent that nothing but the vaguest rumours of the Pope's intentions were known in France. The envoys returned to Constantinople "with their puffed-up pride quite collapsed," concludes Raoul.

Whether John hoped for anything from the Greeks or not, it is plain that he did not fear them. For when granting the pallium to Bisantius, archbishop of Bari, giving him the right of instituting twelve bishoprics, confirming his rights, and subjecting to him all the monasteries both of men and women "as well Greek as Latin" in his archdiocese, he interdicted interference in the matter of his privileges not only on the part of Western potentates, but also on the part of any "patricius or catapan, *excubitus* (chamberlain), or of any other Eastern dignitary whatsoever."[1]

Fulbert of Chartres.

Also in the first year of his reign, John XIX. received a letter from Fulbert, bishop of Chartres (†1028), the most distinguished pupil of the most distinguished master (Gerbert) of his age. Though it only presents us with the beginning of an incident of the sequel of which we have no knowledge, it is still well worth quoting, as it shows the esteem in which not only John himself but the Papacy was held even at this period by decidedly the most learned and influential prelate in France. The frequency with which the matter we have had in hand has called for an observation of this kind is enough of itself to make it obvious that much that is commonly said of the want of influence of the Papacy during this epoch has no foundation in fact. Fulbert, "the lowly bishop of Chartres," addressing "the holy and universal Pope, the Lord John," writes thus: "Thanks be to Almighty God, who, in accordance with His wonted goodness, has, O Father, had regard to your lowliness and, as was fitting, has raised you to the highest pinnacle of glory. On you are the eyes of the whole world fixed, all proclaim you alone most blessed, holy men contemplate your greatness and rejoice that you present to them the spectacle of all virtues. The persecutors of the Church gaze upon you in dread of your anger. Those who are being scourged by the impious, look up to you and breathe once more, trusting that a consoling remedy is still left to them. Of this last number am I, an insignificant bishop of a great and glorious Church; and, imploring your help, O Father, I write you about my troubles." Fulbert then proceeds to denounce a certain Count Rodolf, who had not only ravaged the possessions of the church of Chartres, but had even killed one of its clerics with his own hand. Called to justice, he had defied the king and everybody else, and had at length been excommunicated by Fulbert. Rodolf had then at once betaken himself to Rome, in the hope of getting absolution from the Pope. "Hence, most beloved Father, to whom the care of the whole Church has been committed, do not fail to take him to task for his bloodshed and violence as your Providence knows he deserves. And let not your holiness unjustly receive in communion one whom the divine authority has alienated as a heathen. Farewell, good pastor, and watch over us, lest, by any carelessness of yours, the flock of the Lord should come to harm." [1]

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[1] Ep 2. "Ita ut nullus patritius seu catapanus, excubitus vel qualiscunque honoris seu dignitatis imperialis sit, audeat vel præsumat dijudicare vel molestare," etc. The bull is dated June 1025. *Cf.* Chalandon, *Hist de la domin. normande en Italie*, i. 69. There are records of his granting the pallium to Dietmar of Salzburg, Jaffé, 4074 (3073); Bardo of Mayence, ep. 18; and to Peter of Gerona, in the northeast of Spain, ep. 10. He permits Bardo in his stead to settle even important matters if they are too urgent to be referred to Rome, and exhorts him "not to accept the face of any man against justice, nor to despise anyone who asks what is just." He granted the use of the pallium to Peter as a special privilege on condition of his redeeming captives from the Saracens, as he had promised the Pope on the occasion of his visit "ad limina."

Fulbert seems to have made the "Roman journey," as it was called, a year or two later; [2] but whether or not in connection with the violence of Rodolf cannot be stated.

Poppo of Aquileia, 1024.

Scarcely was John seated on his throne when he was called upon to intervene in the controversy that was going on between the patriarchs of Aquileia and Grado. We have already seen how he made over Grado to Poppo of Aquileia [3] (1024). This he did because the German patriarch had declared that he could prove by ancient *privileges* that it canonically belonged to him, and because he did not think "that he would have dared to mock the Apostolic See." [4] Ursus of Grado, however, promptly appealed against the decision, and though both the patriarchs were summoned, he alone put in an appearance at the synod in the Lateran palace which the Pope held to examine the question (December 1024). The production of the concessions of seventeen Popes, from Pelagius II.[5] to Sergius IV., settled the matter in Ursus' favour. Poppo was ordered to give up both his pretensions and his usurpations[1] Though, no doubt to soothe him, the Pope granted favours[2] to him, it was not in accordance with Poppo's fighting nature to forego his claims, nor did it suit the new German king, Conrad, that the power of a German bishop in Italy should be in any way curtailed. Accordingly, when he came to Rome for the imperial crown (1027), Conrad once more brought the case of Aquileia before the Pope. There is ever "much virtue" in the tongue of an emperor. The affair was at once reopened. Ursus was summoned to a Roman synod at which Conrad himself was present (April 6, 1027), and in the balance of that assembly the wish of an emperor had greater weight than the claims of justice. While Ravenna was justly declared second to Milan, Grado was arbitrarily submitted to the jurisdiction of Poppo. Aquileia, "as *seems* to have been conceded by Blessed Peter," was declared to be second after Rome, and its patriarch granted the use of the pallium[3] and the privilege of sitting at the right hand of the Pope.[4] But, though Poppo hesitated not to enlist both treachery and violence[5] in his cause, it was not destined to be finally successful. He himself died "without confession or viaticum"; and, "at the request of Dominico Contareno, duke of the Venetians and Dalmatians, and the people of Venice," Benedict IX. confirmed the position of the patriarch of Grado.[6]

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[1] Ep. 84 (22), ap. *P. L.*, t. 141. With the same unbounded reverence for papal authority writes Halinard, abbot of St. Benignus. Though he does not hesitate to say that he "to whom the power over the churches is given" should have discretion, he writes: "Totum non latet mundum Romanæ ecclesiæ pastorem apostolica vice ita fungi, ut quod ipse in ecclesiastico ordine consituerit, ratum, stabile et inviolabile permaneret in ævum." Ep. Hal., ap. *P. L.*, t. 141, p. 1157.

[2] Ep. 114 (109).

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 200; Jaffé, 4060.

[4] Ep. 9. It is wrongly dated in Migne. The date furnished by the document itself (December, ind. viii.) shows it was drawn up in December 1024.

[5] Jaffé, 1047. The document ascribed to Pelagius II. is there branded as a forgery. If the actually existing privilege is not genuine, it cannot be doubted that it represents one that was really granted.

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[1] Ep. 9; Jaffé, 4064, 4070.

[2] *Ib.*, 3071.

[3] Ep. 7. Acta synodi, ap. Jaffé, sub 4083, or Mansi, *Concil.*, xix, 479 f.

[4] *Cf.* ep. 3 Clement. II., ap. *P. L.*, t 142, p. 582, where this concession of John XIX. is cited. In 1047 the priority of position was given to Ravenna.

[5] "Gradensem civitatem adiens fraudulenter eam invasit, ecclesias violavit, thesauros abstulit," runs the bull of Benedict IX., an. 1044. Ep. 7, ap *P. L.*, t. 141

[6] *Ib.* St. Leo IX. also, in synod (April 1053) decreed "ut nova Aquileia (Gradus) totius Venetiæ et Istriæ caput et metropolis perpetuo haber-

Conrad, king and emperor.

The man who had in this way succeeded in strengthening his position in north Italy was Conrad. The learned, good,[1] and successful Emperor Henry II. had died childless on Christmas Day, 1024; and the face of Christendom, which under him had been wreathed in smiles, was at once bathed in tears.[2] Men who had at heart the cause of peace and the advancement of civilisation were full of anxiety. One of these, Berno of Reichenau,[3] writing seemingly to an Italian bishop, urges that the greatest caution be exercised in the election of a successor, "that once again the joint possession of a common ruler may unite us, that authority may be respected, and that (advancing) civilisation (*civilitas*) may ennoble those whom no Alpine ranges could separate. . . . Urging unity, thy sister Francia salutes thee, far-famed Italy."[4] Assuredly there was need enough of caution. As is usual under such circumstances, there were rival candidates in Germany; and many of the Italian nobles, fearing the power of a German king, endeavoured to induce a French prince to assume the crown of Italy. They turned in the first instance to King Robert of France. But he would neither risk war with the Germans himself, nor would he suffer his son Hugh to do so.[5] Then they approached the famous William III., duke of Aquitaine (†1030), called The Great, and well known to them from his frequent pilgrimages to Rome. They made him the

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etur; Foroiuliensis (Aquileiensis) vero antistes tantummodo finibus Longobardorum esset contentus." Jaffé, 4295 (3263).

[1] "Erat omni litterarum studio principaliter imbutus, et totus fide et actu Catholicus." Wolfer *in vit. S. Godehard* (c. 9, ap. *P. L.*, t. 141), the successor of Bernward in the See of Hildesheim. Wolfer was the particular friend of Godehard (†1038).

[2] So writes Wolfer, *ib.*, c. 27.

[3] See above, p. 168.

[4] Ep. 8, ap. *P. L.*, t. 142. *Cf.* Wiponis *Gesta Chuonradi*, n. 1. Wippo was Conrad's chaplain.

[5] Raoul, *Hist.*, iii., c. 9; ep. of Fulk of Anjou to Robert, ap. *P. L.*, t. 141, p. 938.

very same request,[1] promising him on oath the kingdom of Italy and the Roman empire. Not altogether trusting these engagements, he went into Italy to interview the nobles themselves. They would give him the kingdom, they said, if at their will he would depose the bishops, and replace them by such others as they thought fit.[2] Refusing to become their tool, especially in such an iniquitous manner, he returned to his duchy denouncing the perfidy of the Italians.[3]

Meanwhile in Germany the claims of the two chief candidates for the throne left vacant by the death of the Emperor Henry II. (July 13, 1024), viz. two first cousins, both of the name of Conrad, were decided in a great assembly of the nation (September 8). The election of Conrad the Salic, duke of Franconia, put an end to the Saxon dynasty, and established the house of Franconia on the German throne. Though unlettered, his military talents enabled him to prove himself a useful ruler. The monarchial power established by Henry I., the Fowler, better called "the Founder," suffered no diminution in the strong hands of Conrad. Till the spring of 1026 he remained in Germany, going from province to province, and everywhere establishing his authority on a firm basis. Then he entered Italy and, after receiving the Iron Crown at Milan (March 1026), spent about a year in north Italy, doing as he had done in Germany. His work was greatly assisted by the adhesion of the Pope. He had already approved of the action of the German bishops who had offered Conrad the crown, on condition of his repudiating Gisela, whom he had espoused though she was related to him within the forbidden degrees of kindred; and he had invited him to come to Rome and receive "the crown of all Italy,"[1] *i.e.*, the imperial crown. Then, when the king entered Italy, John had gone to meet him with great pomp at Como.[2] No doubt on this occasion Conrad succeeded in getting his marriage approved by the Pope. At any rate no more is said about its illegality.

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[1] Fulk, *l.c.*; Ademar of Chabannes, *Chron.*, iii. 62. "Langobardi . . . . jugum imperatorium a se excutere volentes, venerunt multi nobiliores eorum . . . . ad Willelmum . . . . et eum super se regem constituere cupiebant." *Cf.* the letters of the duke and of Leo, bishop of Vercelli, to whom he wrote for advice, epp. 2, 3, 4, ap. *P. L.*, t. 141, p. 827 f., and a letter of Hildegarius to Fulbert of Chartres, ap. *ib.*, p. 272.

[2] Ep. 4 of William.

[3] "Gens enim vestra infida est," he wrote (ep. 1) to one of his Italian supporters.

Strong in the sympathy of the Pope and of the powerful Heribert, archbishop of Milan,[3] Conrad marched to Rome in the spring of 1027 to receive the imperial crown. He entered the Eternal City in triumph during Holy Week, and was crowned along with his wife Gisela by the Pope on Easter Sunday (March 26) in the presence of Rudolph III., the last king of Burgundy (Arles), of our own Canute,[4] and of a vast concourse of people. When the ceremony was over, the new emperor was escorted to his palace (close to St. Peter's, where he had been crowned)[5] by the two kings.

Unfortunately the glory of the coronation was, as usual, dimmed by blood. A quarrel between a German and a

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[1] Raoul, iv. 1. "Mittunt (the German bishops) ad papam Romanum, ut eis in hoc quod decreverant consentiret. Qui statim libentissime annuit, mandans insuper ut quantotius suscepto Germaniæ sceptro Romam pergeret suscepturus totius Italiæ coronam."

[2] *Ib.* *Cf.*, at least as far as the meeting of the Pope and Conrad in north Italy is concerned, an interpolation in Ademar, iii. 62, p. 188, ed. Chavanon.

[3] Arnulf, *Hist. Mediol.*, ii., *init.*, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iv.

[4] *Vita S. Godehard*, c. 28. "Coronam ex more sumpsit imperii," writes Raoul, *l.c.* *Cf.* Wippo, c. 16: "A Romanis ad imperatorem electus, imperialem benedictionem a papa suscepit."

[5] Hence we have charters of his "given in the Leonine city." Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv., p. 38 n.

Roman about a worthless cowhide was enough to cause a fearful commotion German soldiers hastened to the assistance of their countryman Roman citizens flew to the aid of a fellow-townsman After a tough fight the Romans were beaten. "A countless number of them fell. On the following day, to make atonement to the emperor, those of the Romans who had been the cause of the disturbance were ordered to be brought before him, barefooted and with naked swords or ropes suspended from their necks according as they were freemen or slaves."[1]

Campaign in south Italy, 1027.

When Rome had been thus pacified, Conrad, true to the traditions of his predecessors, undertook an expedition into south Italy. His warlike prowess and his energy overcame all obstacles; and how energetic he could be we may judge when we are told that on one occasion he traversed "nearly one hundred Latin miles in a day and a night."[2] Beneventum, Capua, and the other principal cities opened their gates to receive him or were soon forced to do so.[3] No doubt he would have proceeded to expel the Greeks had not word reached him of trouble at home. However, to have them harassed as much as possible, he showed favour to the Normans, and entrusted to them the frontiers of his kingdom to be defended "against Greek guile."

On his return march to Germany, Conrad again visited Rome. Whilst there before, he had granted various privileges "at the request" of the Pope;[4] and it was probably during one or other of these visits, that he put an end—no doubt also at the request of the Pope—to that curious anomaly, which we have shown in operation, of two different codes of law being in vogue in the same locality. He decided[1] that both in Rome and in its territory all cases must in future be decided by Roman law whether a Lombard was concerned or not. When he reached Germany (June 1027), Conrad soon rendered it as submissive as he had left Italy.[2]

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[1] Wippo, *l.c.*

[2] *Ib.*

[3] *Ib.* *Cf.* *Vita S. Godehard*, c. 28: "Pervasa circumquaque potestative ea regione" *Cf.* however, Gay, *L'Italie mérid.*, p 443

[4] Jaffé, sub 4083

England.

The presence of Canute at the coronation of the emperor is enough to carry our thoughts to England, which had for many years past been faring but ill In the first half of the tenth century the Northmen were engaged in establishing themselves in Normandy, but in the second half they again turned their attention to this country. A massacre of some of their countrymen in England in 1002 served but to exasperate the others, and their ravages soon checked the reformation in manners which was going on throughout the land in consequence of the monastic revival. The strong reign of Canute (1019–1035), however, effected an improvement.[3] During John's pontificate Rome was visited not only by Alfric, archbishop of York, who came for his pallium (1026), but also, as we have just seen, by Canute himself. Splendid were the offerings which he made to St. Peter, and great, we are told,[4] were the sums of money which he paid at various places to secure the abolition of toll-gates where large dues were wont to be exacted from pilgrims. He also obtained from the Pope "the exemption of the School of the English from all toll and tribute." What else he did, and how deeply for good he was affected by his visit to Rome, shall be told by himself. By the hands of one of the companions of his pilgrimage, Lifing, abbot of Tavistock, he sent a letter[5] to his people in which he related to them what he had seen and done: "Canute, king of all England, Denmark, Norway, and part of Sweden, to Æthelnoth, metropolitan, and Alfric, archbishop of York, and to all bishops and nobles, and to the whole nation of the English, high and low, greeting. I notify to you that I have lately been to Rome to pray for the forgiveness of my sins, for the safety of my dominions, and of the people under my government. . . . I return thanks most humbly to my Almighty God for suffering me in my lifetime to approach the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, ... and, there (in Rome) present, to worship and adore according to my desire. I have been the more diligent in the performance of this because I have learnt from the wise that St. Peter has received from God great power in binding and in loosing (and) that he carries the key of the kingdom of heaven. . . . Be it known to you that at the solemnity of Easter a great assembly of nobles was present with Pope John and the Emperor Conrad, that is to say, all the princes of the nations from Mount Garganus to the neighbouring sea (*ad istud proximum mare*). All these received me with honour, and presented me with magnificent gifts. . . . Moreover, I spoke with the emperor himself, and the sovereign pope and the nobles who were there, concerning the wants of all my people, English as well as Danes, observing that there ought to be granted to them more equitable regulations, and greater security on their passage to Rome; that they should not be impeded by so many barriers on the road. . . . The emperor assented to my request, as did Rodolph, the

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[1] *M G LL*, ii. 40.

[2] Wippo, cc. 20, 21

[3] *Ang.-Sax. Chron*, an. 1026.

[4] Florence of Worcester, *Chron.*, an. 1031.

[5] *Ib.* We use the translation of the *Church Historians of England* series. "It is an excellent letter and a striking testimony to the

incalculable moral power of the faith which the sanctity of Rome inspired at this period." Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv., pt. i., p. 57. The *Hist. Reg. Dan.*, called the Knytlingsaga, written after the middle of the thirteenth century, says, c. 17, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xxix., that Canute founded a hospice in Rome where "all men could be fed at night who there came from the Danish-tongue lands."

king, who has the chief dominion over those barriers; and all the princes confirmed by an edict that my subjects, traders as well as those who went for a religious purpose, should peaceably go and return from Rome without any molestation from warders of barriers or tax-gatherers.

"Again, I complained before the Pope, and expressed my high displeasure that my archbishops were oppressed by the immense sum of money which is demanded from them when seeking, according to custom, the apostolical residence to receive the pall, and it was determined that it should be so no longer.

"Be it known then that, since I have vowed to God Himself henceforward to reform my life in all things, and justly and piously to govern the kingdoms and the people subject to me, and to maintain equal justice in all things, and have determined, through God's assistance, to rectify anything hitherto unjustly done, either through the intemperance of my youth or through negligence, therefore I call to witness and command my counsellors, ... that they by no means, either through fear of myself or favour to any powerful person, suffer henceforth any injustice, or cause such to obtain in all my kingdom. . . .

"I now, therefore, command and adjure all my bishops and governors throughout my kingdom, by the fidelity you owe to God and me, that you take care that, before I come to England, all dues to God, owing by ancient custom, be discharged: that is to say, plough-alms, the tenth of animals born in the current year, and the pence owing to Rome for St. Peter, whether from cities or villages; and in the middle of August, the tenth of the produce of the earth; and on the festival of St. Martin, the first-fruits of seeds to the church of the parish where each one resides, which in English is called *ciricsceatt.*"

Unfortunately, Canute's immediate successors were men of very different calibre to him, and the decline in Church and State, which had been somewhat checked by him, continued after his death, till it was arrested by the drastic remedy of the Norman invasion.

Hungary

When we last treated of Hungary, attention was called not only to its rapid advance in Christianity and civilisation under its first king, St. Stephen, but also to the efforts made by the saint to ensure its freedom. But that Hungary should be independent did not suit the imperial ideas of "the most warlike" Conrad. Anxious to have the neighbouring nations subject to the empire, he made use of the border warfare which, "through the fault of the Bavarians,"[1] was being carried on between them and the Hungarians, to enter Hungary with a large army (1030). He had previously, as Bonizo[2] would have us believe, endeavoured to give his campaign a sacred character by inducing the Pope to bless his expedition by sending him a standard "as it were from St. Peter." With the banner John sent the bishop of Porto, and Belinzo, "a most noble Roman de Marmorato," and instructed them, if that would please the emperor, to carry it themselves in the front rank; or, if such were not his will, to tell him, on the Pope's behalf: "We promise you victory; see that you do not ascribe it to yourself but to the Apostles." Bonizo then goes on to say that John's promise was carried into effect, and that the lance of the king of Hungary which was captured at that time is to be seen in front of the confession of St. Peter. The good bishop, however, has made a gross mistake;[3] for it is certain that this invasion had a most disastrous termination as far as Conrad was concerned.[1] Bonizo has transferred to 1030 what really took place in 1044. John had nothing to do with Conrad's unsuccessful campaign of 1030; and, as a matter of fact, seems to have been on good terms with the rulers of Hungary. It is said[2] that there is still to be seen at Metz a magnificently embroidered chasuble, the handiwork, it is believed, of Stephen's queen, Gisela. Worked in the under side of it appears the legend: "Stephen, king of the Hungarians, and Gisela his beloved wife, send these gifts to the lord apostolic John." Not to break up the subject of "Hungary" too much, the proper history of the affair related by Bonizo may be given here.

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[1] As Wippo (c. 26) acknowledges: "culpa tamen Baioariorum."

[2] *Ad amicum*, L. v.

[3] Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv., p. 33, has worse confounded the confusion of Bonizo. Horn, *St. Étienne*, p. 122, has also been led astray by Bonizo.

By the misrule of St. Stephen's successor, Peter,[3] the inevitable pagan reaction was aggravated. In 1041 he was expelled from the kingdom by the national and largely pagan party, and a native Hungarian, Aba Samú, whom the German chroniclers call Obo or Ovo,[4] was chosen king. Peter fled to Germany and implored the intervention of Henry III. Here was obviously an excuse for demanding the papal blessing. A war was to be waged against pagans who had expelled their lawful sovereign. Henry was ready for war in 1044, and it was he who then received the banner spoken of by Bonizo from Benedict IX.[5] Whether the Pope made the promise put into his mouth by the bishop of Sutri or not, Henry was completely successful The king's lance was captured, Peter[1] was restored, and Aba was captured and beheaded.[2]

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[1] *Cf.* Wippo, c. 26; *Annal. Altahenses*, an. 1030.

[2] Horn, *l.c.*, pp. 60, 161.

[3] (First time) 1038–1041.

[4] He was not a pagan himself. In the first year of his reign we read of him "reserving to the decision of the Roman bishop" a difficulty in the matter of episcopal succession. *Ann. Alt.*, an. 1041.

[5] Hence it is recorded in the *Annal. Altahenses*, an. 1044, "Quos (the Hungarians) Apostolicus, successor b. Petri, eo quod regem suum dehonestarant, jam pridem anathemizarat."

St. Martial, apostle (?)

By reason of a letter addressed to his predecessor, John was drawn into a very curious controversy. It had for some time been a pious belief in France that of those who first preached therein the truths of Christianity, many had been directly in touch with our Lord Himself or with some of His apostles. Thus it was held that Christianity had been introduced into Provence by Lazarus and his two sisters Martha and Mary; and, about the middle of the ninth century, the deacon Florus had put down in his additions to St. Bede's martyrology that St. Martial, one of the seventy-two disciples, had been sent to Gaul by St Peter and had preached at Limoges.[3] In the days of Pope Benedict, the abbot of the monastery of St. Martial of Limoges approached Jordan, the bishop of the city, and asked him to declare in synod that St. Martial was to be accounted an apostle. This the bishop refused to do, because he believed that the abbot was simply anxious to secure some advantage over him, as his cathedral was dedicated to St. Stephen, who, though the first martyr, would not be reckoned to rank as high as an apostle.[4] The abbot persisted in his contention that St. Martial ought to be raised to the dignity of an apostle; and soon the whole country, from King Robert downwards, was engaged in discussing the question as to whether the saint should continue to be called a confessor, or should in future be numbered with the twelve apostles. What seems to have exercised a strong influence in forwarding St. Martial's claims to be styled an apostle was a codex written in letters of gold which Canute had sent as a present to William, duke of Aquitaine. In this volume, which the duke showed to the Fathers of the council of Poitiers (1024), the saint was enumerated with the other apostles. The duke argued that the English must have derived this custom from St. Gregory, "who worked so hard for the salvation of that nation," and urged that "it would be rash to call in question what had been taught by so great a Pope."[1] Jordan wrote to beg Benedict not to sanction the abbot's desire. That Pope, however, did not live long enough to respond to his letter. The answer came to it from John, who replied in a spirit of compromise. He pointed out from St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians (ii 26) that even by the apostles themselves some were called apostles who were not of the number of the twelve, that the Church of the English called St. Gregory their apostle, and that the Popes are spoken of as *apostolic* (*apostolici*) because they take the place of the apostles Hence he concluded that whoever converted a people to God might be called an apostle, as that word signifies *sent* (*missus*). Hence he concluded that St. Martial might be called an apostle, and that the mass of an apostle might be used on his feast-day. He finished his letter by saying that, to increase the honour paid to St. Martial, he had built and dedicated a "most beautiful altar" to him "in the south side" of St. Peter's.[2] With this statement of the case Jordan seems to have been contented, and in a council at Limoges in 1029 had St. Martial proclaimed an apostle.[1]

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[1] Peter (second time) 1044-1047

[2] *Annal. Alt*, *l.c.*; Arnulf, *Hist Mediol.*, iii., 4, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iv.; Greg. VII, epp ii. 13, ed. Jaffé.

[3] Ap. *P. L.*, t. 94, p. 961.

[4] "Ille abbas seductor nulla alia causa hoc facit, nisi quia vult destruere sedem episcopale primi martyris." Ep. Jord, ap. *P L*, t. 141, p 1160

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[1] Besides the *acts* of this council see a discourse attributed to Ademar of Chabannes, in which its author not only mentions Canute's codex but adds, "Hoc idem in aliis illius gentis vetustissimis voluminibus ipsis oculis nostris probavimus." Ap. *P. L*, t. 141, p 122.

[2] Ep 15

Complaints against the Holy See.

At a second council of Limoges, where the high title of St. Martial was again put forth, several bishops complained that persons excommunicated by them were in the habit of going to Rome, and getting absolved without their knowing anything of the matter. Whereupon the case of Pontius, count of Clermont, was brought forward. He had been excommunicated by Stephen IV., bishop of Clermont (*c.* 1016–1025), for repudiating his wife and marrying again. He had then gone to Rome, and had been absolved by the Pope. Stephen at once wrote to the Pope, whether Benedict or his brother John is not clear, and received the following reply: "What I did in ignorance of the state of the case, my dearest brother, is not my fault but yours. For you know that whoever, from any part of the universal Church, appeals to me for his soul's sake, must be listened to by me as the Lord said in an especial manner to Blessed Peter—'Feed my sheep.' . . . Before this moribund sheep came to Rome, you ought to have written to tell me of his case, and I would have upheld your authority and repeated the sentence. For I proclaim to all my bishops throughout the whole world that it is my wish to be their support and consolation, and not their opponent. . . . Hence I hereby revoke the absolution fraudulently obtained from my ignorance."[2] These words disarmed all opposition, and the bishops agreed that it was not so much the Pope who was to blame as they themselves for not informing him of their doings. They then went on to lay down that the Popes and the other Fathers had decided that if a bishop imposed a penance on one of his subjects, and sent him to the Pope to judge if it were suitable, the Pope could lessen or add to it. "For the judgment of the whole Church is found in an especial manner in the Apostolic Roman See."[1] However, to this and a similar assertion, they added the conclusion: "But it is not lawful for anyone to receive penance and absolution from the Pope without consultation with his bishop."

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[1] Labbe, *Concil.*, ix. 861. *Cf.* can. 1 of the Council of Bourges (1031); and the second Council of Limoges (1031).

[2] This conciliatory letter is quite after the manner of John XIX., and is indeed generally assigned to him.

Architectural work.

John XIX. seems to have interested himself in the architectural revival which had, even earlier in this century, begun to manifest itself in Italy. Not only did he build the altar to St. Martial already spoken of, but, as an inscription in the great papal basilica of St. Lawrence *outside the-walls* bears testimony, he did some work there during his pontificate. In the style of architecture known as Italo-Byzantine, and which was prevalent in Italy from the end of the eighth even into the eleventh century, "the dominant note" of its ornamental sculpture was "curvilinear and mixtilinear" braiding. In this style there are, "in the melancholy and picturesque cloister" of the basilica just mentioned, "several very rudimentary stucco bas-reliefs, covered with crosses and palms or with strange ruffled braidings, partly flowered, in which a certain tendency towards the Lombard style is revealed."[2] An inscription ("Temporib*us* Dom. Johi XVIIII Papæ") shows they were executed under John XIX. No doubt the tranquillity in which his firm hand, backed by that of his brother, "the count of the palace," kept the city of Rome, was one factor in John's turning his attention to architecture. Perhaps also a certain command of money was another cause. At any rate, for the first time for many years do we find in his letters mention of one of the *patrimonies* from which the Roman Church used to draw its revenues.[1]

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[1] "Judicium enim totius Ecclesiæ maxime in Apostolica Romana Sede constat." *Cf. Acta Concil.*, ap. Labbe, ix., p. 869 f.

[2] Cattaneo, *Architecture in Italy*, pp. 194–5.

Guido d'Arezzo.

Still, if the evidence available to show John's interest in architecture were all that could be adduced to prove his interest in the domain of art, it would be to go beyond our authorities to say that his reign was in the very least degree remarkable in the realm of the Muses. But his connection with Guido d'Arezzo will for ever honourably link the name of John XIX. with the history of art. In the lagunes to the north of the Po di Volano, on land which was once surrounded by water but which is now ten miles from the sea, still stands in noble but desolate grandeur the most ancient Benedictine abbey of Pomposa. An inscription in the Alexandrine pavement of its church lets us know that it was dedicated (March 7, 1026) during John's pontificate. During the same period, there was praying and studying within its walls one of the world's great benefactors, Guido, called Aretinus (or d'Arezzo) from the place of his birth. Among other things which we of to-day owe to the monks[2] is our music; and if the Pope-monk S. Gregory I. was the first founder of modern music, the monk Guido was the second.[3] He invented the gamut,[4] and, though he did not invent *solmisation*, or the *solfa* system, be greatly improved it, and simplified generally the mode of musical notation in use before his time. Like so many other geniuses, he had to face the foul arts upcast by envy, and had to leave his monastery. The Pope, however, had heard of the new and wonderful system by means of which boys could learn in a few months what it used to take men years to master. Writing to the monk Michael, who had been one of his helpers, Guido says that after the Pope had sent three successive messengers for him, he set out for Rome. "The Pope was much pleased at my coming, and talked at great length with me, asking me many questions. He turned over our antiphonary as though it were a prodigy, and studying the rules in the front of it, he would not desist nor leave his chair until he had learnt by himself a little tune that he had never heard before. So he experienced in his own person what he had scarcely believed of others." This was in the summer and, as Guido could not endure the moist heat, John permitted him to leave Rome on the understanding that he would return in the winter to instruct him and his clergy.[1] Needless to say that the patronage of the supreme Pontiff made the paths smooth for Guido, who had hitherto in his simple humility been content to console himself with the reflection that at any rate those who came after him would pray for one who had made the learning of music so much easier for them. His abbot was now most anxious to have him back in the monastery, and pointed out to him that a monastery, especially that of Pomposa, was better than a bishopric, "on account of facility for study (*propter studium*), which is now for the first time found in Italy."[2]

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[1] Ep. 4. "Ex corpore patrimonii Thusciæ juris S. nostræ Romanæ (cui Deo auctore præsidemus) Ecclesiæ."

[2] "The elevation of music into a self-existing art is almost entirely owing to the zealous earnestness of the monks. This, as the student will readily agree, was no easy task, but one of great labour, requiring the most steadfast perseverance. The venerable fathers not only occupied themselves in teaching the rudiments of music, but constructed melodies of imperishable beauty." *Hist. of Music* (p. 202 n.), by E. Naumann, ed. of Rev. F. Ouseley.

[3] See his works, ap. *P. L.*, t. 141.

[4] *Cf.* Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, p. 196 (Paris, 1869).

Church ceremonies.

John's sense of the beautiful and the becoming as well as of religion led him to turn his attention to the ceremonies of the Church, wherein art has found one of its most beautiful expressions. In confirming the privileges of Peter, bishop of Silva Candida, a see afterwards united by Calixtus II. to that of Porto, he wrote: "Up to our time in the Church of St. Peter, whence nearly all the churches have received their knowledge of the truth (*doctrinam*) as from a teacher and mistress, the feasts of Palm Sunday, Holy Thursday, and Good Friday have been observed so indifferently that on Palm Sunday there has been no procession of palms, on Holy Thursday the 'Gloria in excelsis Deo' has not been said, and on Good Friday the service has not been conducted as fitly as it ought to have been. At this we are grieved, and desiring that you and your successors[1] should better this state of things, we decree that every year on Palm Sunday a procession take place from the Church of S. Maria *in Turri*[2] to that of St. Peter, and that there you say Mass on the high altar. In like manner on every Holy Thursday you and your successors must say Mass on the same altar, recite the *Gloria*, make the holy chrism, and do whatever else a bishop has to do; and on Good Friday you must at the same place celebrate the whole office becomingly."[3] In this same document John also decreed that the bishop of Silva Candida should have the first place in the ceremony of consecrating the emperor, and seemingly also in that of enthroning the Pope[4]

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[1] Ep. Michaeli, *ib.*, p. 424; Watterich, i. 710, gives part of it. "Æstivo fervore in locis maritimis ac palustribus nobis minante excidium"—another proof of the unhealthiness of Rome. *Cf.* on Guido, Brandi, *Guido Aretino* (Florence, 1882). On his interview with the Pope, see p. 271 ff.

[2] *L.c.*

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[1] For ecclesiastical purposes they were the Pope's vicars throughout the whole Leonine city.

[2] A small church or oratory in the Trastevere, on the banks of the Tiber, by the great Ospizio di S. Michele, and now generally known as the Church of the Madonna del Buon Viaggio, a name given to it by sailors It is called *della Torre* from the fact of its being near one of the towers of Leo IV.

[3] Ep. 4, p. 1129.

[4] *Ib.* "Ad inunguendum et consecrandum imperatorem primum vestram et vestrorum successorum episcoporum fraternitatem con-

Death of John XIX., 1032.

To enumerate the acts of John XIX. in the matter of approving of the translations of episcopal sees,[1] granting privileges to monasteries,[2] or defending them against oppression,[3] would serve no useful purpose.

But from what we have recorded of their actions we are no doubt justified in concluding that, whether the brothers Benedict VIII. and John XIX. obtained the Papacy by any breach of canon law or not, they were excellent men, and distinguished Pontiffs; and that the Church was very much the loser by the death of the latter, which took place probably[4] in October 1032. He was buried in St. Peter's and, according to Novaes,[5] between the Porta Argentata and the Porta Romana.

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vocamus, ut quibus regimen totius ecclesiæ S. Petri et civitatis Leoninæ commissum est ab his primum sit benedictus." From a comparison with the bull (Jaffé, 4110) of Benedict IX. which reaffirms this of John XIX., Jaffé (4076), no doubt correctly, believes that the following words, which give the bishop a right to the first place in the enthronisation of the Pope, have fallen out of the earlier document:—"Inthronizare et incathedrare pontificem Rom. in apost. sede vobis, qui cotidiani estis in servitio S. Petri, committimus, nec non ad benedicendum cum aliis vos specialiter convocamus." Benedict's bull also makes the occupants of this see the episcopal librarians of the Roman Church for ever, Ap. *P. L.*, t. 141, p. 1356.

[1] Ep. 19. The See of Ciza (Zeiz) was translated to Numburg (Naumburg).

[2] Jaffé, 4090, 3, 6, etc.

[3] Ep. 21; Jaffé, 4100, 6, 7.

[4] From what was said at the beginning of this *Life*, it is clear that John was Pope in April 1024. The *L. P.* assigns to his reign eight years and six months. Hence John must have died in October, which agrees with documents given by Jaffé (sub 4107), which show that Benedict IX. was already Pope in November 1032, and with another in the *Archiv. della R. Soc. Rom. di storia*, vol. xxii. (an. 1899), p. 67, which shows he was Pope in October. See also other documents, *ib.*, vol. xxiii. pp. 205, 206, which would prove that he was Pope as early as October 11; and in vol. xxiv. p. 457 f.

[5] *Elementi della Storia de' Sommi Pontef.*, ii. 224.

BENEDICT IX.

A.D. 1032–1045; also (*de facto*) 1047–1048.

VARIOUS fragmentary annals, written in Rome at different times, and collected together (ap. *M. G. SS.*, v., or *L. P.*, ii., p. 331 f.) under the title of *Annales Romani*, throw light on some of the years between 1044 and 1187. The first portion of them (1044–1073) is not the work of a contemporary, but was probably drawn up before the death of Gregory VII.; the other parts, however, were written down at the time the events themselves took place. They were one of the results of the Gregorian Renaissance, but were for the most part the work of the enemies of Gregory and his reform, *i.e.*, were the productions of the supporters of the emperor and his antipope Guibert. The strongly partisan writings of the Gregorian epoch are an index of the fierce contest of principles that was then going on.

Under a dozen of his letters and diplomas are to be found ap. *P. L.*, t. 141, p. 1343 ff.

Of modern works[1] a little essay of Mittler, in Latin (*De schismate in eccles. Rom. sub Bened. IX.*, Turici, 1835), is useful.

[1] As illustrating the carelessness with which bibliographical lists are often prepared, and with which reviews of books are often written, I may mention that on page 192 of the *Rev. d'hist. eccles.*, vol. ii. (1901), a book about Benedict IX. is mentioned which one would suppose from its title to be a biography of that pontiff. Because the book contained over nine hundred pages, a reviewer in the *Revue des Quest. hist.*, p. 255 (1902), calls it an important work ("un important et volumineux ouvrage") on Benedict IX. As a matter of fact the book is an obscene illustrated novel.

Benedict IX

THE accession of Benedict IX. put an end to the orderly and dignified period of papal rule in Rome under his two uncles, for the city was kept in a perpetual turmoil both by his violent and immoral life, and by his repeated expulsions and frequent returns to it by force of arms.[1] The honour of the house of Tusculum, so well sustained by Benedict VIII. and John XIX., was for ever disgraced by Benedict IX. But the eleventh century was not the tenth, religious life was everywhere quickening, and law and order were emerging from the chaos of the preceding age Men would no longer endure what they had perforce to tolerate during the Iron Age. The irregularities of Benedict IX. had the effect of so rousing the public conscience that a return to the licence of the tenth century became impossible, and, hence, of paving the way for the reformation of Gregory VII.

On the death of his brother, John XIX, Alberic *Major*, as the chronicles call him, count of the Lateran palace, procured, by a lavish expenditure of money, the election of his son, Theophylactus, who, according[2] to that sensational writer and restless wanderer Raoul Glaber, was a mere boy under twelve years of age. The house of Tusculum evidently regarded the See of Peter as an hereditary possession which they could give to any of their family.[1] But though, with his wonted exaggeration, Raoul declares[2] that at this period both Church and State were governed by boys, and, though Theophylactus was probably quite a young man, it may well be permitted to doubt whether he was the child that he pretends. To this conclusion we are drawn both by what other contemporary authors say, and by what they do not say. While denouncing the unworthiness of Benedict IX., they not only never mention his mere boyhood either in astonishment at or in extenuation of his wickedness, but, on the contrary, they attribute to the earliest years of his pontificate an evil course of life impossible to a lad who had not reached the age of puberty;[3] and, in 1044, when he would not, according to Raoul, have been twenty-two, they speak of him as growing old.[4] Moreover, it seems only reasonable to suppose that the eldest brother, Alberic, was married at least as early as a younger one became bishop of Porto, *i.e.*, in 1001; and hence it appears that in October 1032 Benedict was far more likely to have been about twenty than "about ten."[5] For it was in that month that the young Theophylactus became Benedict IX.[1] Whatever was the age of the Pope at the time of his election, he had a brother, Gregory, old enough to possess himself of the civil power along with the title of Patricius.[2]

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[1] "A quibus (Romanis) exinde frequenter ejectus ac inhoneste receptus, nulla potestate viguit." Raoul Glaber, iv. 5, n. 17.

[2] *L.c* "Puer ferme decennis, intercedente thesaurorum pecunia, electus extitit a Romanis." *Cf. ib.*, v, c. 5, n. 26. "Fuerat enim eidem sedi ordinatus quidam puer, circiter annorum xii, contra jus fasque, quem scilicet sola pecunia auri et argenti plus commendavit quam etas aut sanctitas." "Non parva a patre in populum profligata pecunia, summum sibi sacerdotium vindicavit." Victoris III, *Dialogi*, l. iii., p 1003, ed *P. L.*, t 149. "Per multa donaria militiæ Romanorum sedis apostolicæ ordinatus est (*parvulus* Theophilactus) antistes," says (*c.* 1) an eleventh-century anonymous biographer of St Leo IX. This recently discovered work will be noticed under the *Life* of St. Leo. *Cf.* Poncelet, *Analecta Bollandiana* (excerptum), Brussels, 1906.

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[1] "Tusculani Romanam vastabant ecclesiam, ita ut quodam hereditario jure viderentur sibi possidere pontificatum." Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, v.

[2] *Hist*, iv. 5. "Cum tunc in seculari potestate, tum etiam in ecclesiastica religione, totius regiminis persone constiterant in puerili etate," etc.

[3] St. Peter Damian says (Opusc. 19, c 3, ap *P. L.*, t. 145, p. 429): "Miserabilis ille ab *ipso* funesti pontificatus sui *primordio* usque ad finem vitæ *in luxuriæ cœno* versatus est."

[4] Desiderius (Victor III.) writes (*Dialog.*, l. iii.): "Benedictus igitur quod amiserat sacerdotium recepit, pristinos tamen mores minime mutavit, secundum quod scriptum est 'Adolescens juxta viam suam, etiam cum senuerit, non recedet ab ea' (Prov. xxii 6). Et quia durum est in *corde veteri* nova meditari, in eisdem pravis operibus, ut ante, perseverabat"

[5] If there is any truth at all in the malignant dreams of Beno, Theophylactus must have been well over thirty when he became Pope, as that vicious romancer makes him a pupil of Gerbert. *Gesta Rom.*

The work of the papal chancellary goes on.

If, however, the youthful pontiff was careless of his own character—how far careless want of knowledge of details prevents us from judging—he was not so of the state of public morality in his dominions;[3] and if he was indifferent in the performance of his duties, the ordinary business in connection with the government of the Church was carried on by his officials. In response to appeals to the Apostolic See "as the refuge of the whole hierarchy,"[4] the papal chancellary continued to issue *privileges*. The canons of St. Miniato[5] were "taken under the protection of the Apostolic See," charters of privilege were dispatched to Bordeaux,[6] to Monte Cassino,[7] and other places, and new bishoprics or archbishoprics established.[8] Certainly in much of this routine work Benedict himself took part, as

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Eccles,. ii., c. 5, ap. *M. G. Libelli.*, ii. Certainly, if Beno had known him to have been a mere boy, he would not have failed to make much of the circumstance.

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 237. The cartulary of SS. Cosmas and Damian (ap. *Archiv. di storia patria*, vol. xxii. p. 67) gives a document which shows that October 29 was in the *second* year of Benedict IX.

[2] "Gregorius frater ejus nomen sibi vendicabat patriciatus." Bonizo, *l.c.* A little further on he speaks of "Gregorius patricius et Petrus (ejus) germani." Gregory also took the title of *Consul*. *Cf.* Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv., pt. i., pp. 41 and 47 n.

[3] Ep. 3, p. 1352; *cf.* Jaffé, 4120.

[4] Ep. 5. Poppo, archbishop of Trèves, declares: "sedem apostolicam totius ecclesiasticæ pastoralitatis esse refugium." The authenticity of this bull is called in question by some authors.

[5] A church that had just been rebuilt. It may still be seen on some high-lying ground just outside Florence. "Sub nostræ apostolicæ defensionis munimine." Ep. 2.

[6] Ep. 1.

[7] Ep. 4. "Cujus abbatis consecrationem nuper ex dono piissimorum Henrici et Conradi, impp. Rom. suscepimus."

[8] Jaffé, 4121, 2.

some of the privileges are said to have been issued "in our presence";[1] and in synod, at the request of Poppo, archbishop of Trier (Trèves), he enrolled Simeon, a recluse of his diocese, in the catalogue of the saints.[2]

Poland.

Of Benedict's action in Hungary mention has already[3] been made. He was also called upon to intervene in the affairs of Poland. By the premature death of Miecislas (1034), Poland became a prey to anarchy. His widow, Rixa, regent for her son Casimir, was of a haughty disposition and a German. Unable to face a pagan reaction,[4] and the antipathy of the people to her character and nationality, she fled with her son to seek the protection of the Emperor Conrad. From that moment law and order seem to have abandoned Poland. Its nobles by their private wars were as much its enemies as Bretislav, duke of Bohemia, who attempted its conquest. He penetrated as far as Gnesen, and carried away to Prague the body of St. Adalbert, for which act of sacrilege Benedict insisted on his founding a monastery as an act of reparation[5] (1039). But a German invasion of Bohemia freed the Poles from their external foes; and, to restore order at home, they resolved to invite the young Casimir to return. Their envoys, it is said, found him a monk of Cluny. Moved by the earnest prayers of his countrymen to return with them and save the state, he consented to do so if they could obtain for him from the Pope absolution from his monastic vows. Benedict acceded to their request on condition that the Poles should maintain a lamp in St. Peter's; should, like monks, wear their hair in the form of a crown; and that at Mass on great feasts the nobles should wear a linen stole round their necks Such is the common story drawn from thirteenth century authors[1] But the fact seems to have been that Casimir returned to Poland on his own initiative, and by degrees freed the country of its enemies;[2] and if, like St. Stephen of Hungary, "the restorer of Poland" employed monks of Cluny[3] to help him in the conversion and civilisation of his country, there does not seem any good reason for believing he was ever a monk himself.

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[1] Ep. 2.

[2] Epp. 10 and 6 *Cf. Gesta. Trever., contin.*, cc. 3, 4, ap. *P. L.*, t 154.

[3] *Vide supra*, p. 229.

[4] *Ann. Hildesh.*, an. 1034

[5] *Cf.* Cosmas (†1125), *Chron*, 1039, ap. *M G SS.*, ix.; *Chron. Polon*, i., c. 19, ap. *P. L.*, t. 160; *Annalista Saxo.*, an. 1039.

But of the good deeds of Benedict, of the deeds he did in the fitful intervals when he was at peace, the records of history tell us but little.[4] We must, therefore, try to track his form through the haze of turmoil on which the light of history sheds but feeble rays.

First expulsion from the city, 1036.

Of the first three or four years of Benedict's pontificate nothing whatever is known. After his consecration we next read of his being expelled from the city. He was, indeed, frequently driven from Rome, but there is no little confusion in the matter of the dates of the events of his reign. With what Raoul Glaber calls a "very terrifying" eclipse of the sun, which certainly did, as he affirms, take place on Friday, June 29, 1033,[5] he connects the first expulsion of Benedict from Rome, and his restoration by Conrad in person But in this he is certainly mistaken.

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[1] *Cf.* Dunham, *The History of Poland*, p. 30 f.; Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs ecclés.*, xiii., p. 151.

[2] *Chron. Polon*; *Ann Saxo.*, *ll. cc.*; and Wiponis *Gesta Chuonrad.*, c. 29.

[3] *Chron. Polon.*, i. 21. He had, of course, received his literary training in a monastery; *ib.*

[4] According to Grimaldi he instituted the line of archpriests of the Vatican basilica. *Cf.* Muntz, *Recherches sur l'œuvre archéol. de J. Grimaldi*, p. 239.

[5] *Hist.*, iv., c 9, *cf. Chronolog. des éclip.*, an. 1033, ap. *L'art de verifier les dates.*

It is known that the emperor was otherwise engaged at the date in question. He was fully occupied in securing to the imperial crown the kingdom of Burgundy which had been made over to him by King Rudolph (†September 6, 1032).[1] However, perhaps in the course of the year 1036, a conspiracy was formed against Benedict, no doubt on political grounds; for it is not to be readily believed that "the Roman nobles" of this period would be moved to try and kill the Pope because his moral character was not what it should have been. At any rate an attempt was made by some of the nobility to put an end to Benedict's life in the basilica of St. Peter. Though the Pope's adherents were able to save him from death, they were not strong enough to maintain him in his position. He was driven from the city by the hostile faction[2]

Restoration, 1037.

The state of Italy was now such as forcibly to call for the intervention of the emperor if he was not to lose his hold on it altogether. Not only was the Pope in exile, but the north of Italy was in a blaze. The famous[3] Heribert, or Aribert as he signed himself, archbishop of Milan, once one of the strongest supporters of the emperor, was endeavouring to make himself supreme in the kingdom of Lombardy.[1] Strong in the support of the people of Milan, to which he had been the greatest benefactor, he incurred the enmity of the lesser nobles (*walvassores*). A general rising burst forth (1035). The lower order of the nobility put themselves in opposition to the upper, and the serfs (*ex servili conditione*) rose against their masters. The great princes (*senatores Italiæ*[2]) were powerless to stem the torrent. Negotiation and arms alike failed. The emperor was appealed to and, grimly observing that if Italy wanted laws it should have them, entered it with an army[3] in the winter of 1036. In accordance with his policy of securing a counterpoise to the greater nobles, Conrad favoured the insurgents, and for the moment silenced the indignation of Heribert by seizing him and putting him into the hands of Poppo of Aquileia. But the resourceful archbishop escaped, and was soon back in Milan, which successfully defied the imperial arms. With the view of still further promoting their own interests, Heribert on the one hand sent to offer the crown of Italy to Eudes[4] (or Odo) II., count of Blois and Champagne, who was engaged in actively disputing Conrad's right to the throne of Burgundy;[5] and Conrad, on the other hand, published a most important decree, wherein he declared the fiefs of even the lesser vassals hereditary.[1] His edict, addressed "to all the faithful of the Holy Church of God, and to our men," was issued to pacify both the greater and the lesser nobility (*seniores et milites*), and to render them more dutiful "both to us and to their respective overlords." As it laid down various laws to regulate the succession to fiefs, it is regarded as the first reduction of feudal customs to written law. But if the emperor gained a larger number of supporters by his decree, and the archbishop by his intrigues secured a champion, neither of them profited much by his schemes.

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[1] *Ann Hildesh*, an 1033; Wipo, cc. 30-1.

[2] Glaber, *Hist.*, iv. 9 "Quidam de principibus Romanorum conspirantes insurrexerunt in papam Romanum, cupientes illum interimere," etc As Glaber is the only author who mentions this early expulsion, it is quite possible that it is of the expulsion of 1044 that he is really speaking—the more so that a solar eclipse actually did take place about the time when, in that very year, Benedict was certainly expelled. (*Cf. Annales Rom.*, *init.*) Wipo, too, who tells of the meeting of Benedict and Conrad, nowhere insinuates that any violence had been used towards the Pope. Glaber is a most unsatisfactory authority

[3] He was one of the makers of Milan, a modern historian of which thus writes · "Ariberto nacque a tempo per rianimare la patria, dargli colla sua indole ardita e grande un risalto ed una considerazione che ella conservò dappoi." Verri, *Storia di Milano*, c. 4.

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[1] Heribertus "qui omne italicum regnum ad suum disponebat nutum," says a contemporary charter ap Guilini, *Memorie*, iii. 442, cited by Cantù, *Storia degli Ital*, v. 440 *Cf.* Arnulf, *Hist. Med*, ii. 10.

[2] *Ann. Sangal. maj.*, 1035, ap. *M G. SS.*, i. They were defeated at Campo Malo, 1035

[3] Wipo, c. 34. *Chron. Hermani Contr.*, an. 1036, etc.

[4] He was finally slain in battle in the plain of Bar, November 1037.

[5] Glaber, iii. 9; *Ann. Hildesh*, an. 1037; Arnulphi *Hist. Med.*, ii. 14. *Cf* Landulphi Sen. *Mediol. Hist*, ii. 26, on Heribert's similar wish regarding Conrad's son. The last-named author is very fond of denouncing German intemperance, their "gulositatem," their passion for nuts "ut largius bibant" (*ib.*, c. 22)

Meanwhile, Benedict had been slowly moving north, holding councils and granting privileges,[2] and in the summer of 1037 met the emperor at Cremona.[3] He was accorded an honourable reception, and was doubtless assured of the emperor's protection. This was enough, as on former occasions, to awe the Romans; and Benedict returned in safety to his city[4] (1037). Glaber, indeed, would insinuate that he was escorted to Rome by the emperor in person[5] But it seems certain that such was not the case. Conrad was busily employed in the north of Italy, striving to put down opposition with a strong hand. By some of his acts, however, such as the banishment of three bishops without trial, he did but increase it "That bishops of Christ should be condemned without trial disgusted many. I have been told that our most pious King Henry, the emperor's son, saving the respect due to his father, was secretly displeased at the imperial presumption against the archbishop of Milan and the other three bishops; and rightly, because just as after judicial sentence of deposition no honour is to be shown to priests, so before it great respect is due to them "[1]

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[1] *Cf* Fisher, *The Medieval Empire*, ii. 152 ff The decree may be read ap Muratori, *Antiq. Ital*, i 609 ff.

[2] Jaffé, 4108-9 (3123-4).

[3] Wipo, c. 36, *Chron Herm.*, 1037

[4] Wipo, *l c.* "Eodem tempore (1037) papa Cremonæ occurrebat imperatori, et honorifice receptus et dimissus, Romam reversus est." Certain moderns (*e.g.* Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv., pt. i., p 43), speak of Benedict at this time as "more criminal than Heliogabalus" In the utter absence of *details* as to his doings at this period, such statements are merely the outcome of imagination. His reception by Conrad would show that so far his crimes cannot have been phenomenal

[5] *Hist.*, iv. 9. "Imperator illuc (Rome) proficiscens proprie sedi restituit."

Though the strength of its walls and the number of its inhabitants enabled the city of Milan to maintain its archbishop against the power of the emperor, he ravaged its territory, nominated another archbishop, and induced the Pope to excommunicate Heribert[2] (1038). But, if Milan successfully set Conrad at nought, his destruction of Parma (December 1037) terrified the rest of north Italy into quiescence, and he was at liberty to turn his attention to the south of the country. Needless to say, there was trouble there. Pandulf IV., prince of Capua, who had been deposed by the Emperor, Henry the Saint,[3] was again master of the situation. The whole of the district of Naples and Capua was in confusion, out of which the mercenary Normans were the only ones drawing profit. Conrad moved south, and kept Easter (1038) with the Pope at Spello near Foligno. It was here that Benedict in council[4] excommunicated Heribert. Whilst it is certain that the emperors's wife Gisela, likely enough in company with the Pope, went to Rome on a pilgrimage,[5] he himself seems to have marched straight south without turning aside to visit the Eternal City.[6] Troja and Beneventum opened

[1] Wipo, c. 35

[2] *Ib*, c 36, and *Herm. Contr.*, an 1038

[3] *Cf supra*, p. 184

[4] *Ann. Hildesh*, an 1038 "Communi episcoporum decreto"

[5] Wipo, c 37 "Imperator transcendens Apenninum montem, in Apuliam tendebat Imperatrix vero Romam orandi gratia venit, inde ad imperatorem revertitur"

[6] In his assertion (*Chron. Cas*, ii 65) to the contrary Leo is mistaken.

their gates to him; Pandulf fled from Capua, which was handed over to Guaimar (Waimar) of Salerno, and the Norman Rainulf was confirmed in his possession of Aversa[1] But the plague stopped the victorious career of Conrad (July 1038); his forces began to melt away, and he was compelled to hurry to the sea-coast, and return to Germany by the shores of the Adriatic. He did not himself long survive this expedition. Within a year after it, he was carried off by a sudden death (June 4, 1039); and his son Henry III., the Black, aged twenty-two, reigned in his stead. If at his death "no man mourned," still was he one of the most powerful of the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, and he handed on his substantial authority to a son who succeeded him as though by hereditary right, and in whose hands the imperial authority was destined to reach its highest point.[2] He is justly accounted "one of the ablest, brightest, and strongest politicians of the Middle Ages. Under him Germany reached its acme of consolidation."[3]

Second expulsion of Benedict from Rome, 1044

Again we have to chronicle a blank in our knowledge of the career of Benedict. From the date of his first return to Rome (1038), with the exception of what has already been mentioned and of a vague tradition of a visit of his to Marseilles,[4] nothing further is heard of the Pope till the year 1044; and then again it is the story of another expulsion which comes to our ears. However, in connection with the disreputable life he is credited with having led throughout his whole pontificate, we are told in most general terms that he was unceasingly occupied in plundering, murdering, and otherwise oppressing the Roman people.[1] At length, in the autumn of 1044,[2] "unable to tolerate his iniquity any further," the people, or a section of them, rose up in arms against him, and drove him from the city. There was instantly fierce strife among the Romans themselves. The people of Trastevere took the side of the Pope and, with the aid of Gerard, count of Galeria, Girard de Saxo, and of other adherents of his family from the country, inflicted a severe defeat on the men of the Seven Hills at the Saxon gate (the porta S. Spirito), January 7, 1045.[3]

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[1] Wipo, *l.c.*, *Herman. Contr.*, an. 1038; *Ann. Altahenses maj.*, an. 1038; *Chron. Cas.*, ii. 65.

[2] *Ann. Saxo*, an. 1039 "In quo pene totius orbis caput virtusque concidit."

[3] Stubbs, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, p 149.

[4] Jaffé, an. 1040.

Election of an anti-pope.

Benedict had been driven from Rome not by any uprising of a people whose ideas of decency and decorum had been outraged by his violent and immoral career, but by a faction of the nobility. At any rate, the ringleaders of the disturbance were only acting in the interests of a party; and, from the fact of their connection with the bishop of Sabina, where that particular faction was all-powerful, *possibly* in the interests of the *Crescentius* party. Within a fortnight after their having been driven through the Saxon gate, they took the gold of John, bishop of Sabina, and, neither caring for canon law nor being terrified by eclipses or earthquakes, set him up as Pope Sylvester[4] (January 20, 1045).

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[1] Victor, *Dialogi*, iii., *init.* "Denique cum rapinas, cædes aliaque nefanda in Romanum populum . . . . ageret, ... populi quia ejus nequitiam amplius ferre nequibant. . . . Urbe pellunt." *Cf.* the anonymous biographer of St. Leo IX. just cited, *l.c.* This is more than enough to give free scope to the imaginations of certain authors. "It seemed as if a demon from hell, in the disguise of a priest, occupied the chair of Peter," etc. Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv., pt. i., p. 47.

[2] *Ann. Romani*, *init.* The outbreak took place in October or November.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] *Ib.* and Victor, *Dial.*, *ubi supra.* "In loco ejus Johannem videlicet Sabinensem episcopum, *non tamen vacua manu*, canonica parvipendentes decreta substituerunt." *Cf. Herm. Contr.*, an. 1044 ; *L. P.*, and various other catalogues, *ib.*, ii. 270 ; Leo Ost., *Chron.*, ii. 79 : "Joannes . . . *non tamen gratis* in Rom. pontificem subrogatus est."

Return of Benedict, 1045

But he did not succeed in holding his usurped dignity long. Benedict, on his expulsion, had fled for aid to his ancestral home at Tusculum on the Alban hills;[1] and though Sylvester heeded not the excommunication which he hurled against him, he could not despise the troops he sent against him in the same way. After Sylvester had held the see some fifty days,[2] the adherents of the Tusculan family, who had been hard-pressing the city in the meanwhile, burst into it, restored their kinsman, and sent his rival back to his bishopric.[3]

Sells the pontificate

Though thus once more restored to his throne, Benedict does not seem to have been happy. He would appear to have felt that the exalted position, which he had perchance not himself sought, but rather into which he had been thrust by his family, was a burdensome restraint[4] under which he chafed. The stings of his conscience, too, were rendered more painful by the reproofs of the good.[5] He wished, moreover, if reliance can be placed on the confused narrative of Bonizo, propped up by some slight support from the Annals of Altaich,[6] to marry his cousin, the daughter of Girard de Saxo. This was too much even for a Roman *capitaneus* of the house of Tusculum. He would, he said, only give him his daughter if he would resign the pontificate. Doubtful, seemingly, as to whether he could do this, he went to consult his godfather and confidant, John Gratian, the archpriest of St. John *ad Portam Latinam*, who had a great reputation for uprightness of character.[1] Convinced by his reasonings that it was within his power to cease to rule the Church, he forthwith agreed to give up the supreme pontificate in his godfather's favour, on condition of receiving from him a considerable sum of money,[2] variously stated at from one to two thousand pounds of gold, or, according to Otto of Frising, the whole of the Peter's Pence from England.[3] This transaction took place on May 1, 1045; and because "devoted to pleasure he preferred to live rather like Epicurus than like a bishop, ... he left the city and betook himself to one of his castles in the country." These words of the Abbot Desiderius supply us with all the information we have of Benedict's doings for about a year and a half.

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[1] According to the anonymous biographer of St. Leo IX , Benedict "fugam petens in castro, qui dicitur Monte gabum, et liberatus est." *Monte gabum* seems to be Monte Albano, called also Monte Cavo, from a village known as Cabum or Caba, long since disappeared.

[2] *Ann. Rom* ; *L. P.* The Abbot Desiderius (Victor III), *l c.*, speaks of Sylvester's occupying the See of Peter "not more than three months," by which he doubtless means "less than the complete months of January, February, and March"

[3] "Suum ad episcopatum reversus est." Victor, *l.c.*

[4] "Primus (Benedict IX.) vero tercio (Gregory VI.) illud regimen pretio vendidit, quia *ira permotus sibi subpositum* hoc possidere noluit" *Ann. Alta Maj.*, an 1046.

[5] "Angaria oblatrantium circumseptus et ex tormento suæ conscientiæ penitentia ductus," etc., says a contemporary, ap *M. G. libell.*, i. 10. *Cf.* Victor, *Dial* , iii.

[6] "Primus (Benedict) illorum, relinquens sedem illam propter illicitum quod contraxerit connubium, potius sua recesserat sponte, quam ulla coactus adversitate" *Ib*

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[1] "Qui tunc magni meriti putabatur," Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, v.; "qui tunc in Urbe religiosior cæteris clericis videbatur," Victor, *Dial.*; "Qui quasi religiosior habebatur," *Chron. Cass.*, ii. 79, which seems to be here following the *Dialogues* of Abbot Desiderius. "Vir religiosissimus ac sanctitate perspicuus Gregorius natione Romanus. Cujus videlicet bona fama quicquid prior fedaverat in melius reformavit," are the last words of Glaber (v. 5).

[2] "Sedique suæ redditus (Benedict) seipsum privavit et alium pro se ob avaritiam contra canones ordinavit," *Herm. Contr.*, an. 1044. "Joanni . . . . non parva ab eo accepta pecunia, summum sacerdotium relinquens tradidit," Victor, *l.c.*; *Ann. Alt.*, *ubi supra.* "Ejusdem pontificatus sui honorem per cartulam refutavit Joanni . . . in die Kl. maias," *Ann. Rom.*, *L. P.* John was rich "in hereditate et mobilibus," *Catal. Zwetlensis* of end of twelfth century.

[3] Catalogues ap. *L. P.* and *R. I. SS.*, iii., pt. ii., p. 345. Otto (*Chron.*, vi. 32) wrote about a hundred years later, and narrates what he gathered in Rome from tradition—"ut egomet in Urbe Romanis tradentibus audivi." . . . "Benedicto reditibus Angliæ . . . . relictis." According to an anonymous contemporary Benedict demanded as much as he had paid: "summam pecuniæ, quam ex appetitu in eo dispendit," ap. *M. G. Libell.*, i., p. 10.

GREGORY VI.

A.D. 1045–1046.

Election of Gregory.

NO sooner was Theophylactus out of the city than John Gratian, recognised by the Romans as lawful Pope, took the name of Gregory VI.[1] There can be no doubt that, though he was not "a simpleton," or "a man of extraordinary simplicity," as Bonizo calls him, he was nevertheless in his own conscience fully convinced that, in treating as he did with Benedict, he was doing no wrong.[2] Great evils require drastic remedies; and it was not so much that he bought, or wished to buy, the pontificate, as that, by the gift of a sum of money, he hoped to bring it about that Benedict would carry out his wish, and resign the charge which he was so profoundly dishonouring.[3]

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[1] When Bonizo says that he procured his election by giving vast sums to the Roman people, he is confusing him with Benedict. He goes on to place the election of Sylvester *after* that of Gregory VI. Altogether he is a most unsatisfactory authority for this period, and one cannot but remain in doubt as to how far to place any credence in what he says. The catalogue of the Austrian abbey of Zwethl (ap. Watterich, i. 174) says it is asserted by some that "he was elected by the Romans against his will

[2] Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, v., says he went to meet the Emperor Henry "nihil male conscius apud se."

[3] "He bought the Papacy in order to wrest it from the hands of a criminal," Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv., pt. 1 p. 51. He further remarks that with regard to Gregory VI "the accounts confuse history and legend."

It gives general satisfaction.

The news that Benedict had abdicated, and that he had been succeeded by the virtuous John Gratian, was everywhere received with joy. Among the letters of congratulation which were sent to him, there was one even from the austere St. Peter Damian.

"To the Lord Gregory, most holy Pope, Peter, monk and sinner, presents the homage of his profound devotion." "I give thanks to Christ, King of Kings, because I have the greatest desire of hearing only what is good of the Apostolic See. The very eulogistic report of you which many have given me has touched my heart. I have drunk in what they said as though it were a beverage of some extraordinarily beautiful flavour, and in the midst of my joy have cried out: 'Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will' (S. Luke ii. 14). God alone, as it is written, can change the times and transfer kingdoms. The world, full of admiration, sees now the fulfilment of the old prophecy: 'The Most High will lord it in the kindgom of men, and he will give this kingdom to whomsoever He willeth' (Dan. ii. 21, etc.). May the heavens then rejoice, the earth leap for gladness, and the Church congratulate herself because she has recovered her ancient rights. . . . May Simon, the false-coiner, no longer strike his base money in the Church May the golden age of the apostles return, and under your prudent guidance may ecclesiastical discipline flourish once more. The greed of those who aspire to the episcopacy must be

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When he goes on to quote "the chroniclers of the time" as saying that Gregory was so simple that he had "to appoint a representative," he is himself quoting from legend Though erring in the statement that Gregory bought off both Sylvester and Benedict, the author of the *Catalogus Zwetlensis* (*l.c.*) writes quite in harmony with the idea expressed in the text. "Compatiens ecclesiæ Dei et scisma, quod in contentione versabatur, amovere volens, utrumque secreto convenit et oblatis ac datis bonis suis, utrumque ab ambitione sedis amovit."

repressed; the tables of the money-changers must be overthrown." He concludes by begging the Pope to give an example of his zeal, and to condemn the abandoned bishop of Pesaro (on the Adriatic, south of Ravenna).[1]

Difficulties of Gregory.

But to take the first steps towards reform was a task that called for almost superhuman powers. The unfortunate pontiff had in the first place to face the opposition of two antipopes. Sylvester III. had never abandoned his pretensions; and Benedict, disappointed in his hopes of securing the hand of his cousin, desired to be Pope again. The clergy of Italy and of Rome itself were for the most part wholly unworthy of their sacred calling;[2] robber nobles plundered priest and people; the papal exchequer was empty; and the churches of Rome were falling to pieces. Gregory, however, was resolved to try to stem the current of evil. He attached to himself the chief men of learning and piety whom he could find in the city. Among these was Lawrence, archbishop of Amalfi, who along with him had been a disciple of Gerbert,[3] and who is praised by St. Peter Damian[4] both for his learning and virtue, and the young monk Hildebrand who had studied under him,[5] and whom he made his chaplain (*capellanus*).[6]

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[1] Epp. i. 1, ap. *P. L.*, t. 145.

[2] In a second letter sent to Gregory by St. Peter Damian, he brings to his notice a candidate for the episcopate not because, he says, he is a fit and proper person, but because he is less unworthy than the other candidates, and because he has been duly elected. "Quia pro peccatis nostris clerici digni episcopatus officio in nostris partibus non inveniuntur," ep. i. 2.

[3] Beno, *Gest. R. Ecc.*, ii., c. 4, etc.

[4] *Vit. S. Odilo*, by St. Peter Damian, ap. *P. L.*, t. 144, p. 944.

[5] Beno, *ib.*, cc. 3 and 6.

[6] Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, v. "Quem (Gregory) secutus est Hildebrandus, volens erga dominum suum exhibere reverentiam, nam antea fuerat suus capellanus," p. 587, ed. *M. G. Libelli.* As Hildebrand was not yet a subdeacon, it will be seen that *capellanus* had not the same signification as chaplain has now.

Gregory's attempted reforms.

With the support of men such as these, Gregory devoted himself to the work of reform during the twenty months he occupied the See of Peter. He endeavoured not only to raise the moral and religious tone of the people, but also to curb the licence of the powerful, and to improve the financial condition of his see, and so be able to save the city from falling to ruins. By the aid of bishops assembled in council[1] he attempted to bring about a moral upraising, and by hortatory letters to obtain the funds he needed. In an encyclical letter[2] he reminded Christian peoples how the Holy See had been wont to send alms to the world; but now, by the usurpation of the powerful and by its sins, the Roman Church had lost well-nigh all its possessions.[3] The churches of St. Peter and of St. Paul were, he continued, in a ruinous state. He had done what he could to repair them by means of his own resources, and he had been helped by the duke of Aquitaine and by the clergy and people of his duchy. He promised, in conclusion, to offer up the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass thrice each year for such as would aid him.

Finally, he strove by force of arms to restore public order. For particulars in this connection we have to fall back on the late authority of William of Malmesbury,[4] and on an obviously confused passage[5] of that author. But, as there is evidence[6] to show that Hildebrand, Gregory's friend and adviser, had at this period engaged soldiers to defend the interests of the Roman Church, there is little doubt that at least what follows has been drawn by our countryman from some authentic source. "Pope Gregory found the power of the Roman pontificate so reduced by the negligence of his predecessors that, with the exception of a few neighbouring towns and the offerings of the faithful, he had scarcely anything whereon to subsist. The cities and possessions at a distance, which were the property of the Church, were forcibly seized by plunderers; the public roads and highways throughout all Italy were thronged with robbers to such a degree that no pilgrim could pass in safety unless strongly guarded."[1] After saying that Gregory found that mild measures effected nothing in lessening these enormities, Malmesbury continues: "Finding it now absolutely necessary to cut short the evil, he procured arms and horses from every side, and equipped troops of horse and foot."

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[1] Jaffé, 4130 (3139); *cf.* Mansi, *Concilia*, xix. 618 There are extant about six genuine *privileges* of Gregory, ap. *P. L.*, t. 142, etc

[2] Jaffé, 3136, first edition; no notice is taken of this bull in the second edition. Ap. *P. L.*, t. 142, it is the second letter.

[3] *L c.* "Et in religione friguit, et terrenas opes majori ex parte amisit."

[4] *De gest. reg.*, ii. 13.

[5] *E.g.* Gregory VI. (or his *predecessors*) is credited with having deprived the emperors of the right to *invest* bishops by ring and crozier.

[6] "*A puero* terrenæ militiæ studuit, rebus bellicis semper operam impendit. . . Cum adhuc adulescentulus monachus diceretur, . . .

His failure.

Circumstances were, however, too strong for Gregory. His action was greatly hampered by the way in which he had himself procured the crook of the Chief Shepherd of the flock. His enemies accused him of simony. The antipopes, or their factions at least, were established in the city,[2] and could not be dislodged. The consequent

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quasi sub specie defendendi et liberandi Romanam ecclesiam satellitium fecit." Wido, bishop of Ferrara († after 1092), a violent opponent of Hildebrand (*De scismate Hild.*, ii., p. 554 f.). It would be very much to the point also if the words "fuit factus homo armorum" were said of Gregory by the *eleventh century* catalogue of *Eccard* (or of *Augsburg*, as Duchesne prefers to call it), as Gregorovius (*Rome*, iv. pt. i. p. 53 n.) says they were. But, as a matter of fact, the words are not found in the catalogue, but only in a fourteenth century *Life*, ap. Eccard, *Corpus*, ii., or better, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iii., pt. ii.

[1] Eng. Trans.

[2] The Chronicle known by the name of Lupus Protospatarius has (an. 1046) "Erant ibi (Rome) tres papæ, Silvester in ecclesia S. Petri, in Laterano Gregorius, et Benedictus in Tusculano." By the later Otto

confusion and strife were such that it was felt that order could only be produced by the action of a force from without powerful enough to take in hand the three parties at once. Accordingly, under the leadership "of a certain archdeacon, Peter," a party was formed of such "bishops, cardinals, clerics and monks, men and women, in whom was some little fear of the Lord." Separating itself from the communion of all the three would-be Popes, it dispatched Peter to Henry of Germany,[1] the fame of whose warlike prowess had already reached Rome, and who was known to have loudly denounced simony.[2] The request of the Romans was supported by the entreaties of Henry's own confessor, the hermit Wiprecht, who begged the king to free "the fair Sunamite from the three husbands who were dishonouring her."[3]

King Henry III comes into Italy, 1046

Henry did not require much pressing to set out for Rome. He was at the moment triumphant over his enemies both at home and abroad, and was anxious for the imperial crown. Nor is there any reason to doubt, moreover, that he was honestly indignant at the "ancient avarice of the Romans, which had even put to sale the apostolic chair itself"[4]

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of Frising (*Chron.*, vi. 32) the localities are differently given: "Uno ad S. Petrum, altero ad S. Mariam Majorem, tercio, *i.e.* Benedicto in palatio Lateranensi sedente."

[1] These details are from Bonizo.

[2] He had declared (Glaber, *Hist.*, v. 5) "Omnes quippe gradus ecclesiastici a maximo pontifice usque ad hostiarium opprimuntur per suæ damnationis pretium."

[3] "Una Sunamitis
Nupsit tribus maritis
Rex Heinrice
Omnipotentis vice
Solve connubium
Triforme dubium,"

cited by the *Annalista Saxo*, an. 1046.

[4] *Anon. de Epp. Eichstet.*, c. 36, ap. *P. L.*, t. 146, a work written *c.* 1080. "Cum antiqua Romanorum avaritia inter alia etiam apostoli-

Undaunted by the small measure of success that had attended the Italian expeditions of his predecessors, he entered Italy with his wife, Agnes, and a large army in the early autumn of 1046. Summoned to meet him, Gregory hastened north, was met by the king at Piacenza, and was conducted by him with all honours to Pavia. "For the bishops who were with Henry did not think it would be just to condemn any bishop without a trial, much less one who was regarded as the bishop of so great a see"[1] As though to prepare the minds of men for what he was about to do with regard to the See of Rome, Henry, who had ever kept himself untainted by the vice of simony,[2] thus addressed the bishops in a synod which he assembled in this city: "It is with grief that I take upon myself to address you who represent Christ in his Church. . . . For as He of his own free goodness . . . deigned to come and redeem us, so, when sending you into the whole world, He said, 'Freely have you received, freely give.' But you, who ought to have bestowed the gift of God gratuitously, corrupted by avarice, have sinned by your giving and taking, and are cursed by the sacred canons. . . . All, from the Pope to the *ostiarius* (doorkeeper) are loaded with this guilt." But when in grief the bishops confessed their guilt, he continued: "Go and make a good use of what you have obtained in no good way."[3]

Anxiety of good men as to how Henry will act

Knowing Henry to be possessed of great power and strong views, there were those who, zealous for the liberty of the

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cam sedem venalem faceret, et modo hunc modo illum nunc alium super alium constituerent, gloriosus imperator indignitatem rei non ferens," etc

[1] Bonizo, *l.c.* It is from him that we have all the details of this synod.

[2] Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi*, ii., c. 8. "In omni vita sua pro omnibus dignitatibus ecclesiasticis unius oboli precium non dicitur adhuc accepisse."

[3] Glaber, v. 5

Church as well as for her fair fame, viewed with no little anxiety his march into Italy to settle the Roman question. This worry of mind on the part of many good men has been made known to us by a letter addressed to King Henry III., discovered comparatively recently, and assigned[1] to St. Odilo of Cluny. The abbot evidently regarded it as a foregone conclusion that one (Gregory VI.) who had replaced a Pope (Benedict IX.) recognised by the emperor (Conrad II.) would be deposed, and he feared lest Benedict would be restored. He accordingly wrote to Henry a long and earnest but guarded letter, which he received while he was at Pavia (October 1046). After exhorting the king to the practice of all the virtues, and expressing a hope that the kingdom of Italy would rejoice at his coming, and that, while the lesser learnt to obey the greater, the greater would learn not to oppress the lesser,[2] he enjoined him to take the greatest possible care in his dealings with the Apostolic See,[3] and to see to it that "what the one (John Gratian) loses who gave all, he (Benedict) ought not to possess who took all"—took all, at least, as far as he could. In conclusion, he bade the king be most careful with regard to the counsellors he selected to manage this most important spiritual affair.

The synod of Sutri, December 20, 1046.

There can be no doubt that this letter had much to do with the action that was taken at Sutri. Meanwhile, at the king's request, Gregory summoned a synod to meet at Sutri. Of the antipopes, Sylvester alone obeyed the summons.[4] The position of the different claimants to the

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[1] By its publisher E Sackur in the *Neues Archiv*, xxiv 2, 1898, p. 728 ff.

[2] Among other things he hoped. "Hæresis symoniaca sit in porcorum stercora." *Ib.*

[3] "Tractate . . . *diligenter supra modum* sedem apostolicam"

[4] Benzo, bishop of Alba, *Paneg. in Henricum IV*, vii 2, ap *M. G SS.*, xi, writes · "Audivit (Henry) tres diabolos usurpasse

Papacy was at once considered. The case of Sylvester was soon settled. He was condemned to be deprived of all, even simple sacerdotal rank, and to be shut up in a monastery for the rest of his life. Theophylact's claim was easily disposed of. He had, as Benedict IX., *i.e.*, as lawful Pope, himself resigned the pontificate. But, asks Bonizo, how were they to proceed against one who was their judge? Gregory was first requested to explain the circumstances of his election. In all simplicity he replied that he was a priest of good repute who had lived chastely all his life—"a thing" interposes Bonizo, "regarded by the Romans of that period as angelic." He had hence, he said, acquired a large sum of money which he was keeping either to repair his church or to accomplish some other work of importance in Rome. At length he had concluded that he could not spend the money better than to use it to restore to the clergy and people that freedom of electing the supreme pontiff which the tyranny of "the patricians" had wrested from them. Thereupon "with the greatest respect" the bishops put before him the artifices of the devil, and reminded him that nothing that was venal was holy.[1] "Before God I declare to you, my brethren, that, in acting as I did, I thought to win grace from God. But as I now perceive the craft of the Evil One, tell me what I must do." Unmoved by this touching reply, either because they were really convinced

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cathedram apostolicæ sessionis. Quibus præcipiendo mandavit, ut sibi occurrerent Sutrio. Sed non venerunt nisi duo . . . . tertius (Benedict) aufugit." *Cf. Annal. Corbei.*, an. 1046, ap. Jaffé, *Bib. Rer. Germ.*, i. Benzo, "the rabid enemy of Hildebrand," is "a vulgar swaggerer" (says Gregorovius, *Rome*, iv., pt. i., p. 133), another Beno in fact.

[1] The position of the bishops is well put by the author of the *Catalogus Zwetlensis*: "As it is impossible for men to be sure with what (redeeming) intention actions are done which are (otherwise) not good ('quæ indifferenter accipi possunt'), he was by some branded as guilty of simony, and declared to have been rightly deposed."

that it was the best for the Church that a new Pope should be elected or, more probably, because they were obeying the will of Henry, the bishops made it plain to Gregory that he must resign.[1] They bade him condemn himself. Whereupon, seeing apparently that he was foredoomed, and making a virtue of necessity,[2] he thus decreed his own deposition: "I, Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, on account of the simony which, by the cunning of the devil, entered into my election, decide that I must be deposed from the Roman bishopric."[3]

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[1] It is necessary to read this into the narrative of Bonizo, as practically all the other authorities say that Gregory and the two antipopes were all deposed by Henry; *e.g. Ann. Hildesh.*, an. 1046: "Heinricus . . . . papas tres non digne constitutos synodaliter deposuit." *Ann. Leodienses*, "tres papæ ab eo deponuntur"; the *Ann. Laubienses* adding "*canonica censura*"; both ap. *M. G. SS.*, iv. The *Ann. Corbei.*, an. 1046 (ap. Jaffé, *Bib. Rer. Germ.*, i.), and the other authorities we have recently been citing all speak to the same effect. The Abbot Desiderius tells of Henry's determination to have the three claimants deposed: "Jam enim dudum regio animo insederat, ut tres illos, qui injuste sedem apostolicam invaserant, cum consilio et auctoritate totius concilii juste depelleret." *Dial.*, iii., ap. *P. L.*, t. 149, p. 1005. St. Peter Damian too was evidently of opinion that Gregory had been found guilty of simony and deposed: "Super quibus (Benedict and Gregory) . . . . cum disceptaret postmodum synodale concilium, quia venalitas intervenerat, depositus est qui suscepit," etc. Opusc. xix., al. Ep. i. 9. This he wrote in a letter to Nicholas II. Berthold (on whom see further on), *Chron.*, an. 1046, ap. *P. L.*, t. 143, expresses the action of the Pope at Sutri very well: "Non invitus (Gratianus papa), pastorale, officium deposuit," *i.e.*, "not willingly," but, under the circumstances, "not altogether unwillingly did the Pope lay down his office."

[2] "In captione sua coactus est, ut tristis et invitus confiteretur," writes an anonymous contemporary, ap. *M. G. Libelli*, i., p. 13.

[3] Bonizo, *l.c.* Jaffé (*Mon. Gregor.*, p. 598 f.) calls attention to the fact that a similar story of a Pope deposing himself is told in the apocryphal acts of the council of Sinuessa concerning Pope Marcellinus. Because Bonizo has in another place told the story about Marcellinus in almost the same words as he tells the story of Gregory VI., Jaffé argues his bad faith. But there can be little doubt that the bishops at Sutri would have the acts of the council of Sinuessa in their minds, and may easily have used some of its phrases; and what more

Henry's action in thus compelling the resignation of one who had shown himself not unworthy of the Papacy must, it would appear, be ascribed in the first instance to a feeling of pique that Benedict had been removed from the Papal throne and Gregory placed upon it without any reference to the emperor; and then to the fact that he had a sincere detestation of simony, with which he believed the elevation of Gregory had been tainted.

The election of Suidger, 1046.

Satisfied with what had been accomplished at Sutri, Henry, in company with the famous Boniface, marquis of Tuscany, advanced to Rome. In a two-days synod (December 23-4)[1] held in St. Peter's, he secured the canonical deposition of Benedict; and, by the choice of the clergy and the adhesion of a few of the laity,[2] the election of a German, Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, as the successor of St Peter. He had originally wanted Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen; but that eminent man had declined the honour, and had himself put forward the name of Suidger.[3]

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natural than that Boniza should himself use to describe the deposition of Marcellinus, the authentic narrative of what had just taken place under similar circumstances at Sutri?

[1] *Ann. Corbei.*, *l.c.*

[2] The annals of Corbey, indeed, say "*unanimi* cleri ac *populi* electione"; but Bonizo affirms that only a few of the laity gave their consent, as John Gratian had bound them by oath not to recognise another as Pope whilst he lived. Hence only those, says Bonizo, who had not taken the oath accepted Suidger. "Clementem constituit papam," *Chron.* Mariani Scoti, an. 1044. "Quem (Clement) ipse imperator ordinari jussit," says (c. 7) the anonymous disciple who wrote the *Life* (ap. *P. L.*, t. 142) of Halinard, archbishop of Lyons, who was present at the deposition of Gregory. It may be noted that Halinard had only accepted the See of Lyons in obedience to the direct command of Gregory (*ib.*, c. 5).

[3] "Adalbertus in papam eligi debuit, nisi quod pro se collegam posuit Clementem," Adam. Bremen., *Gest. Pont. Ham.*, iii. 7. Following one of the countless groundless conjectures in Gfrörer's *Pabst Gregorius* (viii., c. 49), Henderson contends: "Bremen had come to form a centre for all the Slavic missions, and Adalbert seems to have

Bonizo and Benzo on the election of Suidger.

In connection with the nomination of Suidger, it is instructive to compare what is said of it by Bonizo, the stout ally of Gregory VII., on the one hand, and by Benzo, the panegyrist of Henry IV., on the other. The former, to cover the humiliating position in which Henry III. placed the Roman Church, puts forth the extravagant statement[1] that "in so great a Church scarcely one could be found who was not either illiterate, guilty of simony, or living in concubinage"; and that, therefore, "the Romans were thus driven to elect Suidger . . . . despite the canons which forbade anyone to be elected Pope who had not been a priest and deacon of that Church." Benzo, however, anxious, if possible, to remove from the king the charge of tyrannical interference,[2] makes him declare to the Roman

dreamt of making it a second Rome" (*A History of Germany in the Middle Ages*, p. 180). For such a chimera Adalbert would scarcely have refused a certainty; nor, if he had ever entertained such an idea, would Adam of Bremen, our best authority on his doings, have spoken of him as "without equal in the honour he gave to the Apostolic See" ("in honore sedis apostolicæ . . . . vix potuit habere comparem," iii. 1), and as "glorying in having only two masters, the king and the Pope, to whom were subject all the powers of the world and of the Church, and who were held in the highest esteem by him" ("pariter gloriatus se duos tantum habere dominos, hoc est papam et regem, quorum dominio jure subjaceant omnes seculi et ecclesiæ potestates; illos nimirum sibi esse timori ac honori. . . . Auctoritati apostolicæ nichil præponens," etc., at the close of the third book). And if, as we shall see more at length under Leo IX., he had a wish to erect his see into a patriarchate, he only desired the accomplishment of his wish if it were to be brought about "by decrees from Rome" (*Romanis decretis*, *ib.*, iii. 32, al. 34). Perhaps the idea of Henderson, etc, has sprung from the remark of Adam (iii. 23) that the reputation of Adalbert made "little Bremen as famous among the nations as Rome," and from Adalbert's wish to erect his see of Bremen into a patriarchate

[1] *Ad amicum*, v That is to go further in condemnation of the Roman Church than Desiderius: "In Romana ecclesia non erat tunc talis reperta persona quæ digne posset ad tanti honorem sufficere sacerdotii" *Dial.*, iii.

[2] *In Henricum IV*, vii., c 2. *Cf.* the anonymous biographer of St Leo IX., c. 1.

dignitaries (*seniores Romani*) at Sutri that, whatever might be thought of the manner in which they had used their rights in the past, they should still be free to elect as Pope whomsoever they thought fit. But they are made to reply that, owing to the foolish use they have made of their privileges in the past, they would be glad if the king would take them into his own hands.

Accordingly, after consultation it was decreed amid the applause of the Roman *senators* and people that Henry, with his successors in the empire, should be declared Patricius. Then, when he had been clad in a green cloak (*viridissima clamide*) and the ring and golden circlet of the patricius had been placed upon him, in response to the request of the Romans for a Pope "whose teaching might bring back the stricken world to health," he led to the apostolic chair (*horchestra*) the bishop of Bamberg.

Though the work of Benzo is a "medley of inventions and calumnies,"[1] there is no reason for doubting the substantial accuracy of the foregoing narrative. The bishop of Sutri, indeed, avers that Henry seized (*arripuit*) the patrician dignity after his coronation, "as though," comments Bonizo, "there were any privileges attached to that lay office which were not embraced by the imperial majesty. But what more bitter calamity could there be than that he who had just before punished the tyranny of the Tusculans should make himself like to them. For what led the mind of so great a man so far astray but that he believed that the dignity of Patricius gave him the right to nominate the Roman Pontiff."[2]

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[1] Muratori, *Annal.*, an. 1044: "Zibaldone d'imposture e calunnie."

[2] "Credidit, per Patritatus ordinem se Romanum posse ordinare Pontificem," Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, v. *Cf. Ann. Rom.*, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 332.

The dignity of Patricius.

It would appear, however, that, if Henry believed that the possession of the dignity of Patricius gave him the right to nominate the Roman Pontiff, it was because he understood it was the intention of the Roman people, or at least of a large section of them, to bestow such power upon him. The dignity of Patricius, then, as granted by the Popes to the Carolingians, was one thing, but as granted by the Romans to Henry III. was seemingly quite another. In naming Charlemagne, for instance, Patricius, the Pope had in mind simply the granting of an appropriate title to the advocate or defender of the Roman Church. But when the Romans gave this title to Henry III., they would appear to have invested him with the power which the Roman nobles had been exercising during the age of anarchy. Hence St. Peter Damian speaks "of the Holy Roman Church being now at the emperor's beck," and points out that "henceforth no one was to be elected to the Apostolic See without his sanction (*auctoritate*)."[1] This surrender of their rights on the part of the Romans was an outcome of the natural reaction of the more conscientious ones among them against the licentious conduct of the Roman nobles in arbitrarily bestowing the Papacy on any of their creatures, no matter how unfit he might be for that exalted position. It was a desperate remedy for a desperate disorder. The remedy, however, was soon to be found to be worse than the disorder, and the great Popes of the Gregorian Renaissance devoted themselves to prevent further employment of a remedy which had become noxious and dangerous.

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[1] *Liber gratissimus*, c. 38, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, i. 71. *Cf. ib.*, *Discept. synod.*, "Heinricus imperator factus est patricius Romanorum, a quibus etiam accepit in electione semper ordinandi pontificis principatum." Ap. *ib.*, p. 80. See Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, iii. 590 f.; Leipzig, 1896.

Henry's action not acceptable to many.

The German king's high-handed procedure did not commend itself to devoted adherents of the Papacy,[1] nor to the impartial bishops of his dominions, as we shall see at some length in connection with the election of Pope Damasus II.; nor did it please many of those who were not subjects of the German monarch. This dislike of civil interference in the affairs of the Church is manifested very strongly in a fragment[2] discovered by Bethmann. It is a part of one of the first of those pamphlets on the respective rights of Church and State which were to be so numerous during the Gregorian age of the Papacy. It is the work of a well-informed Gallo-Frank cleric, and was written between the death of Clement and the election of Damasus, at the time when Benedict IX. again occupied Rome on the demise of the former Pontiff.[3] From a certain obscurity of style, and from the fact that the actual names of the Popes he is discussing are not given by the anonymous author, it is not always easy to grasp his exact meaning.[1]

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[1] And so Berthold (*Chron.*, an. 1046, ap. *P. L.*, t. 143) ascribes the earthquakes which occurred in Italy during the pontificate of Clement to the uncanonical deposition (as he calls it) of Gregory VI., "Quem nulla culpa deposuit, sed simplex humilitas ab officio cessare persuasit." This Berthold, who is also known as Bernold, is often confused with another Berthold, known also as Bernold or Bernald. Nor are grounds for the confusion wanting. Both were priests of Constance, both were partisans of Gregory VII., both wrote chronicles in connection with that of Herman Contractus, and both were more or less contemporaries. Finally, the works of both have been published ap. *M. G. SS.*, v. But the Berthold we have just quoted was also a monk of Reichenau (Augia Dives), was a disciple and friend of Herman, and died in 1088. He wrote a sort of compendium of Herman's Chronicle (ap. *P. L.*, t. 143), and a continuation of it to the close of the year 1080, ap. *ib.*, t. 147. The other Berthold was at one time a monk of St. Blaise and died in 1111. His chronicle (ap. *ib.*, t. 148) extends to the year 1100. I shall always call the friend of Herman, Berthold, and the monk of St. Blaise, Bernald.

[2] Ap. *M. G. Libel.*, i. 8 f. It was a reply to a query from a *bishop* apparently. "Alio anno bene fecistis quod ad invitationem sui concilii ire renuistis." *Ib.*, p. 11.

[3] "Quem (Benedict) ex depositione relevatum *nunc* habet improba Romanorum provectio." *Ib.*, p. 9.

Quoting St. Paul, "An ancient man rebuke not" (1 Tim. v. 1), and adding still less the Roman Church "which is set over all the other churches,"[2] our anonymous author observes that, while that maxim is correct as a general principle of conduct, the rule has its exceptions. Fortifying himself with the authority of S. Gregory I., he insists that the superior must be taken to task when his example is leading his inferiors to destruction.[3] Hence, though he acknowledges, nay demonstrates, the guilt of Gregory VI., he condemns his deposition. His death has, however, removed his case to the tribunal of God.[4] But in no instance does the power of judging the supreme pastor belong to man, still less to an emperor of ill fame (*infamis*); "and the emperor of whom we speak is of bad repute because he sinfully married a relation" (Agnes of Poitiers). Knowing, then, that Gregory, "whose will was in the law of the Lord," could never be induced by blandishments or threats to bless his marriage, he named one who would.[5]

If Gregory's title to be acknowledged as a bishop were called in question, the bishops alone, and not the emperor, had the right to decide on the point. "For where do we read of emperors having obtained the privilege to take the place of Christ"?[6] Emperors, as our author says he has already[7] proved, are themselves subject to the bishops. The head must not be struck by the tail. "Despite the prohibitions of the saints, despite all that has been decreed as to the veneration due to the Apostolic See,[1] that emperor, hateful to God, did not hesitate to depose when he had no right to elect, to elect when he had no right to depose."[2]

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[1] Hence from his notes I am convinced that its learned editor, Dümmler, has occasionally fallen into confusion with regard to the Popes alluded to in certain passages of it. On this see Appendix.

[2] "Quandoquidem Romana potestas omni æcclesiæ præponitur," p. 9.

[3] P. 8.

[4] P. 12.

[5] P. 13. It is to be observed that this is the only place wherein this motive for the deposition of Gregory is assigned to Henry. The relation of Agnes to Henry, if any existed, can only have been distant.

[6] P. 14.

[7] See p. 12.

Death of Gregory, 1048.

Whatever others may have thought of his conduct, Henry himself was well pleased with it. He had greatly advanced the interests of his kingdom. Accordingly it was with supreme self-complacency that, after his coronation by Clement, he visited south Italy, and then returned to Germany (May 1047) with Gregory in his train. With the ex-pontiff went Hildebrand, "for he was anxious to show his loyalty towards his lord."[3] It is true that in after-life as Pope he wrote: "It was against my will that I accompanied the lord Pope Gregory beyond the mountains." But, from the context of the passage, it is plain that he was only so far unwilling that he did not wish for anything beyond monastic retirement, did not wish for that contact with the great ones of the world which companionship with Gregory would necessarily entail. "You know that it was against my own wishes that I entered the clerical state; that only unwillingly did I go beyond the mountains with the lord Pope Gregory; that still less willingly did I return to your special church with my lord Pope Leo, and that wholly in opposition to my will was I, utterly unworthy, placed with deep sorrow and regret on your throne."[4]

Gregory did not survive his arrival in Germany many months. He died "on the banks of the Rhine";[1] but where precisely cannot be stated with certainty. In all probability it was at Cologne; because we know that his companion Hildebrand spent some time there.[2] Nor is it known exactly when he died. That he was alive at Christmas 1047 is evident from the *Life* of Bishop Wazo of Liège;[3] and that he had ceased to live whilst Benedict IX. was still holding Rome in 1048 is equally certain.[4] He died, then, in the early part of the year 1048.

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[1] Our author has largely quoted the *False Decretals*.

[2] P. 14.

[3] Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, v.

[4] *Regist.*, vii. 14a. "Ad sacrum ordinem accessi," *i.e.*, joined the order of St. Benedict, for he was only ordained subdeacon by Leo IX. Bowden, *Gregory VII.*, i., p. 130 n., thinks that Gregory's unwillingness to go with the Pope "may refer to a reluctance to acquiesce in the state of things which necessitated the Pope to undertake the journey."

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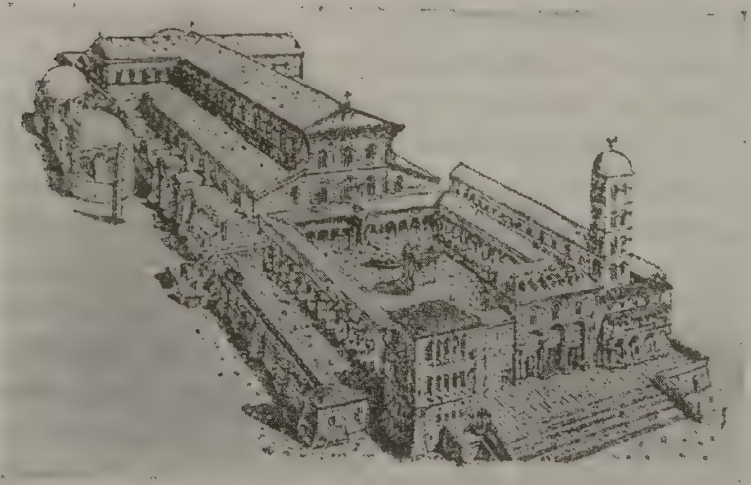
[1] "Non longo post tempore cum ad ripas Reni venisset Johannes . . . interiit." Bonizo, *l.c.*

[2] *Cf.* ep. *Greg. VII.*, i. 79.

[3] C. 27, ap. *P. L.*, t. 142; *vid. infra*, p. 287.

[4] *M. G. Libell.*, i., p. 12.



St. Peter's in the Middle Ages.

CLEMENT II.

A.D. 1046-1047.

The letters, privileges, etc., of Clement are to be found in the *P. L.*, t. 142.

Clement II. WHATEVER may be thought of the manner in which Clement was raised to the supreme pontificate, he was in every way worthy of the position which he had done his best to avoid.[1] The second German whom the arbitrary power of princes of his country had placed on the chair of Peter, he was a credit to the king who had selected him, and a man of very different character to some of those whom the local magnates of Rome had thrust into the Holy See. He was distinguished by birth and by talent, by his career previous to his advent to the Papacy, and by his virtues. Sprung from the Saxon family of the lords of Moresleve and Hornebuch, Suidger of Mayendorff commenced his ecclesiastical life as chaplain of Herman, archbishop of Hamburg;[2] and then, from being a canon of St. Stephen's at Halberstadt, he became, about the year 1040, bishop of

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[1] "Omnium . . . . assensu Suidgerum . . . . nimium reluctantem summum R. E. elegit pontificem." *Herm. Contr.*, an. 1046. *Cf.* what he says himself, ep. 8.

[2] Adam. Bremen., ii. 66.

Bamberg.[1] No doubt on account of the poverty of the Roman Church at this time, Clement kept his German bishopric in his own hands after he became Pope.[2] He is described by the *Roman Annals* as a saint, and his kindness was such a marked feature of his character that we find frequent reference to it.[3]

Coronation of Henry, 1046

Elected Pope, as we have seen, on Christmas Eve, he was enthroned in St. Peter's on the feast of the Nativity itself. Immediately afterwards Henry and his wife Agnes were solemnly crowned[4] emperor and empress by the new

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[1] *Cf.* his epitaph at Bamberg, ap Papebroch, *Conatus chron.-hist. in Catal RR. PP.*, in Propyl. ad Acta SS. Maii, p. 188*; and Hoefler's *Die Deutschen Papste*, erste Abthei., p. 239, Ratisbonne, 1839, quoted by Delarc, *Grégoire VII.*, i, p. 46.

[2] Lambert of Hersfeld (formerly quoted as "of Aschaffenburg"), *Ann.*, an. 1048, relates that on the death of Clement the Romans went to ask Henry for a successor. "Quibus (Romanis) imperator Popponem Prisniensem episcopum assignavit, Bambergensem vero episcopatum Hezekin cancellario contradidit." *Cf.* Jaffé, 4149 (3154), where he says that when made Pope "non tamen omnino a Bambergensi ecclesia separatum esse." Born, it seems, about ten years before these events, Lambert was ordained priest in 1058 (*l.c.*, an. 1058) and died after the year 1077. He is regarded as one of the best authorities for the reign of Henry IV, and is certainly one of the best historians of the Middle Ages.

[3] *L. P*, ii. 273.

[4] Gregorovious, *Rome*, iv, pt. i., p. 58 f., gives a description of this imperial coronation from the *Ordo Romanus ad coronand imp.* of Cencius, afterwards Honorius III *Cf.* i., p 419 f, of his works, ed. Horoy, Paris, 1879 For, despite the authority of Pertz, who ascribes this ordo to the close of the twelfth century, Gregorovius would refer it to this period He does not attempt formally to establish his opinion; though he does incidentally remark that "the non-appearance of the senate speaks decidedly in favour of an earlier date than that assigned to it by Pertz." But similar conclusions might be drawn from the non-appearance of the *senators*, who, we know, took part in the council which elected Clement (*conlaudentibus senatoribus*, Benzo, *Paneg.*, vii. c. 2). We may then neglect the argument *from silence*, and note that the mention of certain officials who did not come into existence till after the days of Clement II. is enough to show that the ordo in question was not, as we have it, in existence in the first half of the eleventh century. Let it suffice here to name the

Pope ;[1] "and the whole city of Rome was filled with great joy, and the Holy Roman Church was exalted and glorified because by the mercy of God so great a heresy was hence eradicated."[2]

After the *consecration* Mass was over, the Pope, the empress and the emperor, still clad in all the imperial regalia, went in solemn procession to the Lateran, amid the applause of the admiring crowds. And for once the lustre of the glorious ceremony was not dimmed with blood. The emperor abode in Rome, as the chronicler we are quoting[3] is at pains to assure us, "amidst the most profound peace."

Henry assumes the dignity of Patricius.

But Henry was not content to be crowned emperor by the Pope. With a view of establishing a more direct control over the Papacy and Rome, "he placed upon his own head," either before or after his imperial coronation,[4] "the circlet with which from of old the Romans crowned their patricians."[5] Then, whether in real disgust at the

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"camerarius Dni. Papæ" who is first heard of at the end of the eleventh century (Fabre, *Étude sur le Lib. Censuum*, p. 155). No doubt then that the *Ordo* of Cencius, as he set it down, was elaborated in the twelfth century; and that Henry the Black was crowned with much the same ceremonies as the Emperor Louis (850). *Cf.* ii., p. 157, of this work.

[1] "Papa . . . . consecravit imperatorem cum imperatrice," *Ann. Alta. Maj.*, 1047. *Cf. Ann. Lamberti*, *Corbei.*, *Chron. Herimanni*, etc. It may be again noted that those annalists who refer this event to the year 1047 reckon its commencement from Christmas Day.

[2] *Ann. Romani*, ap. *L. P.*, ii., p. 332.

[3] *Herm. Contr.*, an. 1047.

[4] *Cf.* Benzo and Bonizo, *ubi supra*; Benzo says, probably correctly, *before*. The *Roman Annals* and Bonizo imply *after*. Once more it may be noted, to lessen the danger of confusion, that as king this Henry is called the third, but as emperor he is known as Henry II. And so in one of his bulls (ep. 8, p. 588) Clement calls Henry II. of Germany "*primus* Henricus Cæsar Augustus" and Henry III. of Germany "hic *secundus*."

[5] *Ann. Rom.*, "cernens Romanorum omnium voluntatem," says their imperialist author. "Indutus viridissima clamide, desponsatur patriciali annulo, coronatur ejusdem prelature aureo circulo." Benzo, *l.c.*

action of their nobles, or because they could not help themselves, the Romans,[1] renewing the renunciation of their privileges which they had made in 963, granted the emperor the right of nominating the supreme pontiffs and of inhibiting the consecration of bishops till they had received investiture at his hands. However, especially from the way in which St. Peter Damian speaks[2] of this transaction, it would appear that the powers in the matter of papal elections granted to Henry were bestowed upon him personally, and that there was no intention on the part of the Romans to hand over their rights to the emperors in perpetuity. The saint gives the most unbounded praise to the emperor for the resolute manner in which he set himself to work to extirpate the corroding evil of simony. "And since, in order to keep the commands of the Eternal King, he has refrained from following in the footsteps of his predecessors, the Divine Goodness has, in recompense, bestowed on him what it has hitherto not conceded to most of his ancestors (*plerisque decessoribus*), to wit, that the Holy Roman Church should now be ordered according to his pleasure ('ad ejus nutum . . . . nunc ordinetur'), and that without his sanction (*auctoritatem*) no bishop of the Apostolic See should be elected." Then, with the usual passion for assigning a mystical meaning to the words of Scripture, and comparing Henry to David, he says that as Saul's daughter was given to the latter for his victory over Goliath, so the former received holy Church for subduing simony.[1]

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[1] *Ann. Rom.* "Almus pontifex una cum Romanis et religiosis patribus . . . et ordinationem pontificum ei concesserunt et eorum episcoporum regaliam abentium, ut a nemine consecretur nisi prius a rege investiatur." According to the anonymous disciple and biographer of Halinard, archbishop of Lyons (†1052), it was by money that Henry obtained this concession "Hoc namque a Romanis imperator, data pecunia non parva, exegerat ut sine ejus permissu papa non eligeretur." *Vit. Halin.*, c. 7., ap. *P. L.*, t. 142.

[2] Opusc iv., known as *Liber gratissimus*, and as such printed more completely in *M. G. Libell.*, i. In *P. L*, t. 145, the passage in question is c. 36; in the *Libell.*, c. 38.

Council of Rome, 1047.

Both Pope and emperor, whose encroachments on the liberties of the Church are passed over by St. Peter Damian when, in his gratitude, he extols him for his attacks on the "hydra-headed monster of simony," were earnestly bent on reform. On or about January 5 they held a synod in which were condemned those who trafficked in sacred things, and in which it was decreed[2] that whoever received holy orders at the hands of one whom he knew to be guilty of simony should do penance for forty days before he presumed to exercise the functions of the order he had received. Over this decree there was to be much discussion, because some thought it too lenient. Its moderation, however, as we shall see in succeeding volumes, was destined to win the day.

To put in practice his newly received powers, Henry had at once filled up various sees; and thus his chancellor for Italy, Hunfrid, found himself in possession of the archbishopric of Ravenna.[3] With all the old ambition of the occupants of that see, he claimed the privilege, as against the archbishop of Milan and the patriarch of Aquileia, of sitting at the right hand of the Pope when the emperor was absent, and that too despite the decree of John XIX in favour of Milan. Imperial patronage was no doubt the reason why Hunfrid obtained his request.[4] A few years later, however, Milan seems to have recovered its rights in this matter.[5]

Privileges

Many another privilege was granted by Clement during his brief reign. From the grand abbey of St. Boniface

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[1] *Cf. ib.*, Opusc. iv., ap *l.c.*, p. 71.

[2] At least it is supposed that this decree, assigned by St Peter Damian (Opusc. vi., c. 35) to Clement, was passed at this council

[3] Herm., an 1047.

[4] Jaffé, 4141 (3147, 3995)

[5] Muratori, *Annal.*, 1047, and the authorities there cited.

(viz. Fulda), amid the wood-crowned heights of Hesse-Cassel, came its abbot, Rohingus, to Rome, no doubt following his sovereign with his contingent of armed men He returned consecrated by the Pope, after having received a confirmation of the privileges of his abbey, and, as a gift, the Roman monastery of St. Andrew, near the church of S. Maria *ad Præsepe*[1]

At the emperor's request Clement's friend, Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen, was granted "permission to use ornamental trappings (*maccus*) for his horse when riding, to wear the pallium on stated occasions, and to have the cross carried before him."[2] Naturally the Pope's own church of Bamberg was not forgotten. Its privileges were confirmed, since "he was not altogether separated from the church of Bamberg" when, "despite his utmost resistance," the emperor wished him to be elected, and he was made Pope, "after the three to whom rapine had given the name of popes had been expelled."[3]

This bull in favour of the church of Bamberg is, it may be remarked, to a large extent an "apologia." In it the Pope solemnly declares that no husband was ever truer to his wife than he to his see, and that it never even entered into his mind to desert it and cleave to another; and, though the mother (the See of Rome) in every way excels the daughter, he cannot express the sorrow it has caused him to have to leave "his most sweet spouse." For "no yearning for the great power of the See of Rome (*tantæ dominationis*) ever entered the door of our mind." He calls God to witness that he was completely satisfied with the life, at once active and contemplative, that he was leading as bishop of Bamberg. Now, however, that he is Pope he will show his love for his first spouse by causing her to rise with his own advancement.[1]

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[1] Jaffé, 4133, 4 (3141, 2); Lambert of Hers, an. 1046.

[2] *Ib.*, 4146 (3151) Among others Clement granted the pallium to the archbishop of Salerno, because his promotion had been effected "without simony." *Ib*, 4143.

[3] *Ib.*, 4149 (3154). "Se cunctis nisibus refragantem . . . Romanum pontificem factum."

He took under his protection various monasteries[2] of his see, especially that of SS. Stephen and Vitus, which he had himself founded "for the good of his own soul and for that of our son, the Lord Henry, Emperor Augustus of the Romans, with whose goodwill and consent we undertook and completed the building when we occupied the See of Bamberg."[3]

Odilo of Cluny.

Like all the other Popes who were eager for reform, he showed favour to the congregation of Cluny.[4] About this glorious abbey and its work and aspirations he was well informed by the venerable Abbot Odilo, who, being in Rome at this period for at least the fifth time, had already guided its destinies for over fifty years. A great promoter of the Truce of God, he was distinguished not only for his learning, but especially for his kindness and amiability. These latter qualities brought upon him the censures of the severe; but he quietly told them that if he had to be damned, he would rather be damned for over-indulgence than for over-harshness. By men in general, however, these traits in his character caused him to be greatly loved, and that too even by the great ones of the world, by emperors and kings and by the Popes "Sylvester, Benedict, John, and lastly by Clement, all of whom treated him like a brother."[5] But with all their love for him and authority over him these latter could not induce him to accept the honour of the episcopate. On the death of Burchard, archbishop of Lyons (1031 or probably earlier), one usurper after another seized the bishopric. "Word of all this," says Raoul,[1] "was carried to the Pope (John XIX.), and good men begged him, by virtue of his authority, to consecrate Odilo as archbishop in accordance with the wishes of the clergy and the people of Lyons. John accordingly sent him the pallium and a ring," and commanded him to accept the bishopric. Odilo, however, would not give his consent, nor was his resolution shaken when he received from the Pope the following letter:[2] "What is better in a monk than obedience? . . . We have heard of the slight you have inflicted on the church of Lyons by your rejection of its desires, and the slight you have, to spare yourself, put upon its people. To say nothing of your setting at naught the wishes of such important bishops as have entreated you to accept the dignity, we cannot pass over your disobedience to the Holy Roman Church. If you obey not, you will feel the severity of the Roman Church. The episcopate, though not to be sought, is not to be refused by such as you after being duly called."

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[1] Ep. 8. [2] Jaffé, 4145. [3] *Ib.*, 4150. [4] *Ib.*, 4136 (3144).

[5] So writes (c. 7, ap. *P. L.*, t. 142) his disciple and biographer Jotsald.

Italy, we are told, was glad of the holy abbot's presence, and so especially were Pavia[3] and Rome. He had come to the Eternal City on this occasion with, it appeared, a mortal sickness upon him, "in the hope that he might pay the dread debt of nature under the protection of the great Apostles Peter and Paul." But through the sweet converse (*desiderabilis collocutio*) and the apostolic benediction of Pope Clement, and the intercession of the great apostles, he recovered his health to a great extent, and returned to France to help for a short time longer to spread abroad the bright and beneficent light of the "star"[4] of Cluny (†1049).

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[1] *Hist.*, v. 4.

[2] Ap. *P. L.*, t. 141, p. 1150.

[3] "Cujus prece et industria temporibus Henrici et Conradi impp. liberata est ab excidio gladii et periculo incendii." *Ib.*

[4] So was Cluny justly called by Urban II.

Privilege for Geoffrey Martel.

Only one more of the privileges granted by Clement will claim our attention. It is given as yet another example to show how eagerly the protection of Rome was sought at this period; how vastly its influence was increased by being made the overlord, by being granted the *altum dominium* over places of such importance both in the spiritual and temporal order as monasteries then were; and how its revenues were supplemented when, by the loss of most of its territories, its income had fallen off so disastrously. On the Loir, at the foot of vine-clad slopes, still stands in the little town of Vendôme the monastery of the Holy Trinity. It was founded by Geoffrey II., Martel, count of Anjou, the son of the formidable Fulk the Black (Nerra). In his charter of foundation (dated May 31, 1040) the abbey is called "the patrimony of Blessed Peter and the Roman Church"; and Geoffrey relates how he went to Rome himself, and offered on the altar of St. Peter the place with all that appertained thereto "in allodium proprium."[1]

By his bull of July 1, 1047,[2] Clement confirmed this charter, and in doing so laid down in clear and beautiful words the spirit that should animate one who gives to God. "When the children of Holy Church," he said, "make an offering to Almighty God, they ought not to give as though they were granting a favour, but to rejoice that they are able to make a faithful return. For they are giving back to their Creator a part of what they have received from Him, so that by means of what belongs to God Himself they may make of Him a most generous debtor." In accepting the immediate overlordship of the monastery, the Pope imposes an annual tax of twelve solidi of Anjou, to be paid to Blessed Peter, "in perpetual memory and evidence" of his relationship to it. When Cencius drew up his *Liber Censuum* the monastery of Vendôme was still paying this tax.[1]

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[1] Hence the abbot is officially called *alodiarius b. Petri*. *Cf. Étude sur le Liber Censuum*, Fabre, p. 66.

[2] Ep. 5 in *P.L.*; in Jaffé, 4147.

St Peter Damian.

In all that Clement did to forward the reform of the Church he seems to have been helped by the advice and encouragement of St. Peter Damian—one of the greatest men of his age,[2] at once a monk and an apostle. It is not clear whether the saint's influence was brought to bear upon the Pope by word of mouth or by letter; but as he was always disinclined to leave his monastery if he could help it, perhaps, in the absence of evidence, we may conclude that communications passed between them only by letter. Knowing that Damian was a great power for good, and understanding at the same time how averse he was to leading a public life, the emperor frequently urged on him the necessity of going to see the Pope, laying before him the needs of the Church in his district, and suggesting the needful remedies. He, however, wrote to ask Clement whether it was his will that he should come or not; for (as during all his life) he was divided between the fear of losing his time by wandering from place to place, and a wish to remedy the evils he saw brought about "by bad bishops and abbots." "What does it avail, my lord, if the Apostolic See has passed from darkness to light, if we still remain in the same darkness?" After speaking of the success of a bad bishop in overreaching the Pope, the saint concluded:[3] "We had hoped that you would redeem Israel. Wherefore, most blessed lord, strive so to raise up down-trodden justice that the wicked may be humbled and the lowly look up with hope."

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[1] *Lib Cens*, p. 192, ed. Fabre "In episcopatu Carnotensi (Chartres), Monasterium Vindocinense xii. solidos andegavenses"

[2] *Cf. Storia di S. Pier Damiano e del suo tempo*, by Cardinal Capecelatro, Rome, 1887.

[3] Ep. ii. 3, ap. *P.L.*, t. 144

Not content with putting himself in correspondence with the Pope, he endeavoured to get in touch with one who had his ear. Accordingly he wrote an elegant little letter to "Peter, cardinal-deacon and chancellor of the sacred palace," whom we may be permitted to suppose the same "Archdeacon Peter" whose action resulted in the deposition of Gregory VI. He had heard, wrote the saint, of the state of Rome and of him to whom he was writing—a lily among thorns. With such a man he wished to be on intimate terms: "Do you be my eye, my master, so that through you I may perceive if I can effect anything with the Pope. For if the Roman Church return not to the right path, the whole fallen world must remain in its miserable condition. For it must now be the beginning of renovation as it was the foundation of salvation."[1]

The latest of St. Peter Damian's biographers[2] connects the Pope's presence in the province of Ancona, at the close of the summer (1047), with the exhortations which the saint had addressed to him. He would in person examine into the condition of the churches of which so much sad news had been conveyed to him. It may be so; but, as we shall see, Clement's early death prevented his taking any measures to remedy the state of things which so distressed Damian.

Henry moves south.

Though we are assured that there was profound peace in Rome whilst Henry sojourned there, it is certain that such was not the case in its immediate neighbourhood. Various nobles in the vicinity were in arms, acting either in their own interests or in those of one or other of the deposed pontiffs, probably in behalf of Benedict. However, as he did not apprehend any great trouble in subduing them, Henry sent back the larger part of his army to Germany, and had no difficulty in capturing most of their strongholds.[1] If they were really held by Benedict's partisans, the emperor seems to have left Tusculum itself untouched. Perhaps the place was too strong to be carried by assault.

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[1] Ep. ii. 19. "Et necesse est jam ut eadem (sedes Romana) sit renovandæ principium, quæ nascentis humanæ salutis exstiterat fundamentum."

[2] Biron, *St. Pierre Damien*, p. 52. Paris, 1908.

To examine in person the state of parties in south Italy, Henry proceeded from one important town to another. With him went the Pope. From Monte Cassino they made their way to Capua and Salerno. Everywhere the emperor heard of those new-comers, the Normans. They had long been fighting the Greeks, and were gradually mastering them. Following in the wake of former imperial policy, Henry treated them with marked favour, and recognised their leaders as feudatories of the empire.[2] The display of respectful submission with which he had been greeted wherever else he had gone suddenly ceased when he reached Beneventum. Insult had there been offered to his mother-in-law on her return from a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Michael on Mount Gargano.[3] Fearing that Henry would punish them, the Beneventans closed their gates and refused to receive him. In vain did he cause the Pope to excommunicate them[4] (February 1047). They would not yield, and Henry was in want of troops; and matters of moment were calling for his presence in the North.

Henry returns to Germany.

Leaving the Normans to obtain possession of Beneventum, which in his wrath, though it strictly belonged to the Popes, he made over to them if they could capture it, the emperor, accompanied by Clement, and with the late Pope in his charge, set out for Germany. On his way thither, with a view to rendering his authority in Italy more stable, he endeavoured to secure the person of Boniface, the powerful marquis of Tuscany and father of the famous Countess Matilda.[1] Boniface was as influential in north Italy as Guaimar of Salerno was in the south, and of his absolute loyalty to the empire Henry had reason enough to doubt. But Boniface was as wily as the emperor, and Henry was compelled to leave Italy with that task also left unaccomplished. It was at the beginning of May that he started from Mantua on the final stage of his return journey, and reached Augsburg before its close. Some are of opinion that Clement accompanied Henry from Mantua into Germany, and tell us that he there canonised St. Viborada, a virgin who had been martyred by the Hungarians in 925. But this canonisation seems to have taken place as early as January;[2] and it would appear that there was scarcely time for him to have gone into Germany.[3] Before the close of September we find him suffering from a mortal disease in the monastery of St. Thomas in the diocese of Pesaro (the old Pisaurum), a city of the Pentapolis, near the month of the Foglia. In returning from Mantua to Rome one would naturally pass through the town of Pesaro itself, which fact would seem enough to show that Clement went at least into north Italy with the emperor.

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[1] *Herm. Contr.*, ad an. "Nonnulla castella sibi rebellantia cepit."

[2] *Ib.* "Duces Nortmannis . . . . constituit." *Cf.* Aimé, *L'Ystoire*, iii. 2, "Drogo et Ranulfe (Norman leaders) furent glorifiez de l'empeour et mis en possession de lor contés."

[3] *Herm. Contr.*, *l.c.*

[4] *Chron. Cass.*, ii., c. 80, ap. *R. I. SS.*, iv. *Cf. Ann. Benevent.*, an. 1047, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iii.

Death of Clement, 1047.

When exactly he fell ill is not clear, but on September 24 he made, "for his soul's sake," a grant of land to the monastery of St. Thomas, "whence, seized with severe illness, I scarcely expect ever to depart alive"[1] Of what he was suffering he does not say; but according to some authorities it was from the effect of poison prepared for him by the machinations of Benedict of Tusculum.[2] However, taking into due account the place where he was taken ill, and considering the frequency with which on very trivial evidence men are stated during the Middle Ages to have died by poison, it would seem to be more probable that he died of Roman fever. A touching letter has come down to us which Clement from his bed of sickness is said[3] to have sent to the emperor. He writes to Henry with the hand of death already upon him: "Receive, in death, one to whom in life you gave the Papacy, an honour I accepted with the greatest unwillingness." He expresses a wish to be buried in his own country, begs his correspondent to bestow a little care on his faithful servants, and sends him a ring that "as often as he gazes upon it he may think of Clement."

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[1] Donizo, *Vita Mathildis*, i., c. 13, ap. *R. I. SS.*, v.

[2] Jaffé, 4142.

[3] And so the *Ann. Rom.* speak only of the emperor's return to Germany.

It would seem that the Pope's conjectures as to his serious condition and its consequences turned out but too well founded; for he died apparently where[4] he was taken ill (October 9, 1047). In accordance with his wishes his body was conveyed to his native land, and now lies in the cathedral of Bamberg, "where," as the nameless author of the *Lives* of the bishops of Eichstädt relates (c. 37), "he was buried in the choir of St. Peter with every evidence of great devotion by the brethren." Leo IX., when in Germany during the year 1052, "through love and reverence for our predecessor Clement of pious memory," granted to the brethren of Bamberg, who had the care of Clement's tomb, the right of wearing the mitre on the anniversary of his death (*in die S. Dionysii*) and on some six other days.[1] He is the only Pope whose body reposes in Germany.[2] His tomb there dates, according to Müntz,[3] from the thirteenth century.

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[1] Jaffé, 4148. He also gave to the monastery the appurtenances for the celebration of Mass, etc., which the Popes were wont to carry about—"capellis et suis pertinentiis" *Cf.* ep 20. Nicol II, ap *P L.*, t. 143.

[2] Lupus, *Chron*, an. 1047. "In mense Junii (a certain mistake) P. Benedictus per poculum veneni occidit P. Clementem" *Cf Herm. C.*, an. 1047, who says he died by "Roman arts."

[3] Jaffé 4152. While some uphold the genuineness of this letter, Jaffé has no hesitation in assigning it "to the class of fictitious *dictamina*"

[4] In confirming Clement's donation to this monastery of S. Thomas, "in comitatu Pensaurensi juxta fluvium Aposellam," Nicholas II speaks of it as the place where he died, "qui ibi hobiit," Jaffé, sub 4152. Various necrologies (*ib.*) give the date of Clement's death It is true there is a document (*ib.*, 4150) which would show that he was in Rome

His tomb.

A description of this tomb was given long ago by the Bollandists;[4] and in a communication which Mgr. Duchesne was good enough to make to me, and which has furnished me with the material of this paragraph, he assured me that photographs which he had of the monument confirmed their account of it. It was violated by the Protestants in the sixteenth century, and the top of it, representing seemingly a recumbent figure with an inscription around it, then disappeared. At present nothing remains of the original tomb but the sarcophagus, all the sides of which are ornamented with reliefs dating from about the thirteenth century, and symbolic in character. A simple stone has

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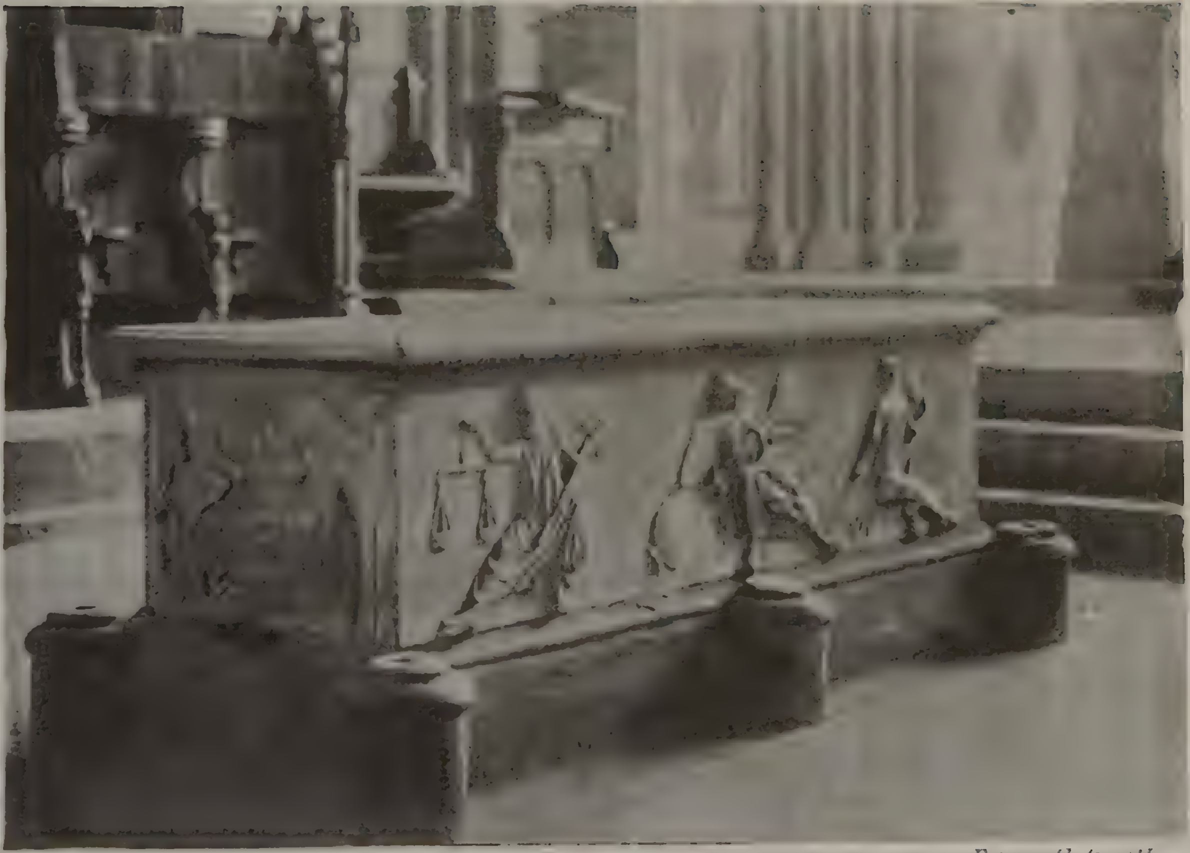
in October. Jaffé, however, says that the word *Romæ* seems to have been added to it by another hand. If so it would afford a very weak argument against the supposition that he never left S. Thomas's. Besides, Leo IX. (ep. 75, ap. *P. L.*, t. 143) speaks of Clement's body as taken back to Germany, not from Rome, but from the territory of Rome, "e Romanis finitimis."

[1] Ep., 75 ap. *P. L.*, t. 143.

[2] *Catal. Aug.*, ap. *L. P.*

[3] *Cf. L. P.*, ii., p. 273; but especially 568.

[4] *Propyl.*, Maii, p. 188*.



From a photograph.

Tomb of Clement II.

replaced its former carved top; and round it, in late sixteenth century characters, runs the following epitaph:—

> R$^{\text{mus}}$ IN C$\overline{\text{H}}$RO PATER ET $\overline{\text{DNS}}$ D SVIDERVS
> A MAYENDORFF SAXO Q EPISCOPVS BAMB.
> POSTEA SVMMVS PONT. CLEM Q DICT OBIIT
> ROMÆ 10 OCTOB. Ao. 1047.

The learned Monsignor does not know how far this inscription corresponds with the previous one.

Memorial tablet to him in Rome.

Some six hundred years after the Pope's death one of his successors in the See of Bamberg erected in Rome a memorial tablet to "the most distinguished of his predecessors." It is to be found on the left-hand side of the arch in front of the altar of the national church of the German-Austrians, viz. S. Maria dell' anima. It runs thus:—[1]

D. O. M.
Clementi secundo
Natione Germano
De gente Saxonum Qui olim
Bambergensis episcopus
Difficillimis Christianæ
Republicæ temporibus
Invitus ad summum
Ecclesiæ princi-
patum evectus
Est
Anno sal. MXLVI.
Joannes Godefridus
Matthiæ imperatoris ad
Paulum V. Pon. Max. Legatus
Bambergensis et ipse
Episcopus episcopo
Inter majores
Suos præcipuo
Memoriam
Dedica-
vit
Anno D.N.I. M.D.C.XII.

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[1] I copied it in the beginning of the year 1902.

DAMASUS II.

A.D. 1048.

(BENEDICT IX.—POPE *de facto*, 1047–1048.)

The emperor nominates Poppo to succeed Clement.

MINDFUL of their engagement to the emperor, and with the impression of the display of power he had made on the occasion of his coronation not yet quite effaced from their fickle minds, the Romans met together after Clement's death, and dispatched an embassy to Germany. As his servants and children, they begged Henry to send a pastor for the Holy Roman Church at once good and kind.[1] Their envoys found the emperor, who had meanwhile been engaged in an indecisive compaign in Frisia, in his palace at Pöhlde, where he was preparing to spend Christmas.[2] Anxious to provide a worthy successor to Clement, or perhaps by his untimely death driven to doubt of the lawfulness of his conduct in setting him on the papal throne, he sent to ask Wazo of Liège, the most independent bishop in the empire, who ought now to be made Pope. We are told that Wazo forthwith set himself to study the Lives of the Popes, their decrees, "and the authentic canons." Then, coming to the conclusion that "whatever might be his personal character, the supreme pontiff was worthy of the highest honour, and that he was not to be judged by anyone,"[1] he bade the emperor reflect whether God had not evidently reserved the Apostolic See for him who had been deposed by those who had no right to depose him, seeing that, whereas he still lives, the one you placed in his stead is dead. The bishop, accordingly, gave it as his opinion that Gregory VI. should be sent back to Rome to succeed Clement.

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[1] Direct from the *Ann. Rom.*

[2] Lambert, *Chron.*, an. 1047.

Wazo's careful study of the subject had taken time. Meanwhile, the emperor had lost his patience, and when Wazo's messenger arrived at Pöhlde he found that Poppo, bishop of Brixen in the Tyrol, who had taken part in the synod of Sutri, had already been selected by Henry to be the new Pope. However, "as he was curious to hear much and to gather together the opinions of different men," he insisted on being informed of Wazo's decision.

If, in selecting the Bavarian[2] Poppo, the emperor had shown himself unwilling to wait for the advice of Wazo, he had apparently been unable to gratify the wishes of the Romans. They had asked for Halinard, archbishop of Lyons. He was well known to them; for his love of Rome led him thither frequently, as he longed to die there.[3] He was not merely known to the Romans, he was even beloved by them, both for his handsome face and for the sweet converse he used to hold with them in their own language.[4]

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[1] "Nihil aliud quam summum pontificem, cujuscunque vitæ fuerit, summo honore haberi, eum a nemine unquam judicari oportere . . . . invenire potuit." *Vit. Wazon.*, c. 27, by Anselm, the historian of the bishops of Liège It was published in 1056, and may be read ap. *P. L.*, t. 142; or *M. G. SS.*, vii. or xiv.

[2] *L. P.*, in vit.

[3] His wish was granted him. He died there in July 1052.

[4] The passage (c. 7) in the *Life* of Halinard, by his anonymous disciple, in which the facts given in the text are narrated, is very interesting, as it shows that the languages which have been formed from the Latin were fast becoming established. "Ita enim proferebat vernaculum sonum loquelæ uniuscujusque gentis, quosque Latina penetrat lingua, ac si eadem patria esset progenitus," ap. *P. L.*, t. 142.

But, since he either would not or could not be induced to entertain the idea of becoming Pope, Henry, as we have seen, nominated Poppo, a man of unmeasured pride according to Bonizo,[1] a man of distinguished learning according to the imperialist Benzo,[2] and then sent the Roman envoys back to Rome, with great presents, to prepare for the arrival of their new Pope.[3]

Benedict again gets possession of Rome.

During their absence the imperial authority had practically come to an end in the city. Ever venal, the Romans could always be bought. From the heights of Tusculum, Benedict had for many weary months gazed on Rome with longing regret. Now was his opportunity. The Marquis Boniface was, not unnaturally, ill-disposed towards the emperor. He was easily induced to favour anyone who was likely to injure his authority. Accordingly, after Benedict had gained over a large following in Rome by a lavish use of gold,[4] the influence of the marquis enabled him to reoccupy the papal throne for over eight months, *i.e.*, "from the feast of the Quatuor Coronati (November 8, 1047) to that of St. Alexius (July 17, 1048)."[5] What he did during this interval, or whether he was recognised as Pope by the Catholic world, is not known.

Poppo enters Italy, 1048.

The emperor meanwhile was moving towards Italy with the newly appointed Pontiff, and was in his company at least as far as Ulm (in Wurtemberg) on the Danube. Here it was arranged, in view of the crippled state of the papal exchequer, that Poppo was to retain the revenues of his see as Clement had kept those of Bamberg. Further, by a deed of gift dated January 25, in response to a request "of our faithful and beloved Poppo, bishop of Brixen, and on account of his devoted service," Henry granted him an important forest in the valley of Puster.[1] Then, feeling that the state of Germany was not such as to warrant his leaving it, but knowing that something must be done in view of Benedict's *coup de main*, he sent an order to the marquis of Tuscany commanding him to conduct Poppo to Rome in person, and in his name to arrange for the enthronisation of the new Pope. From what has been said of the action of Boniface, and of the relations between him and the emperor, there can be no difficulty in anticipating the attitude he would take up towards the imperial mandate. But he had all the astuteness[2] of the Italian, and had no thought of blustering defiance. He quietly told Poppo when he came to him: "I cannot go to Rome with you. The Romans have brought back Pope (Benedict), and he has won over the whole city to his cause. Besides, I am now an old man."[3]

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[1] With his dislike of imperial interference he wrote: "Patritiali tyrannide dedit eis . . . . virum omni superbia plenum." *Ad amicum*, v.

[2] vii. 2, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xi.

[3] *Ann. Rom.* According to the *Ann. Altahenses maj.*, an. 1048, the Romans themselves asked for Poppo. "Episcopum Brixinæ sibi papam petunt, qui mox eligitur, ut petivere."

[4] "Per præmii cupiditatem divisit (Benedictus) Romanum populum. . . . Cujus (the marquis of Tuscany) auxilio. . . . Benedictus receperat pontificium." *Ann. Rom.*

[5] *P. L.*, in vit. Clement.

Leaves it and again returns.

Clearly there was nothing left for Poppo but to return to Germany and acquaint the emperor with the state of affairs. His indignation may be imagined. Poppo was sent back to Boniface with a strong letter in which he was peremptorily ordered to bring about the expulsion of Benedict and the establishment of his successor. "Learn, you who have restored a Pope who was canonically deposed, and who have been led by love of lucre to despise my commands, learn that, if you do not amend your ways,

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[1] Jaffé, sub an. 1048. He is still called bishop of Brixen, as he had not yet been enthroned.

[2] "*Callidissimus* Italorum dux Bonifacius." Ad. Bremen., iii. 30.

[3] *Ann. Rom.*, p. 333.

I will soon come and make you."[1] There was something in the simple directness of Henry's words that seems to have awed the marquis into submission. A body of his troops expelled Benedict, and with Poppo he entered Rome in triumph. The Romans, with every demonstration of joy, received the bishop who had been sent to them to be their ruler. He was solemnly enthroned as Pope Damasus II. in St. Peter's on July 17, 1048.[2]

Death of Damasus.

He was, however, only elected to die. Overcome, probably, by the heat of Rome, he retired to Præneste. But it was too late. The Roman fever had secured another victim. After a reign of about a score of days he died on August 9,[3] and was buried in St. Lawrence's outside-the-walls.[4] When the old basilica was overthrown in the thirteenth century, the present one was formed of two churches which were previously separated. In the exterior portico of the existing building there may be seen on the left a large sarcophagus "adorned with reliefs representing a vintage, with cupids as the wine gatherers." According to Panvinio[5] (†1568), this once contained the mortal remains of Pope Damasus. Standing in his time on the left of the entrance into the church, it was afterwards placed behind the choir, but has since been replaced in the portico. Duchesne, from whom the assertion of Panvinio is taken, will not vouch for the accuracy of the tradition.

The fate of Benedict IX.

Before attempting to reply to the question, what was the final fate of Benedict IX., we may note that, of course, the sudden death of Damasus was attributed to poison, given, so says Beno,[1] by one Gerhard, surnamed Brazutus, the friend of Benedict IX. and the tool of Hildebrand. But that worthless author also states that "it is said" that the same man poisoned six Popes, beginning with Clement II., in thirteen years! This lying pamphleteer further relates[2] that Hildebrand reconciled Theophylact (Benedict IX.), his old master, who pretended to be penitent, to Pope Leo IX.; that it was owing to the instigations of these two that Leo went to war with the Normans; and that, on his death, Benedict IX. made another attempt to seize the Papacy.

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[1] *Ann. Rom.*

[2] *Ib.*; Bonizo, *Ad amicum*, v.

[3] Jaffé, *sub an.* 1048. "Apud Præneste vita decedente." *Chron. Cass.*, ii. 81.

[4] Herm. Contr., *sub an.* Bonizo makes him die "corpore et anima"!

[5] *De vii. eccl.*, 6, quoted by Duchesne, *L. P.*, ii. 274.

From (*a*) the narrative of St. Peter Damian.

According to St. Peter Damian, who was almost as credulous as Beno was malicious, Benedict never abandoned either his pretensions to the Papacy or his mode of life, and was buried in hell.[3] The last statement he makes on the strength of a story narrated to him by Archbishop Humbert, a man whose word, the saint assures us, could not be called in question for a moment, who had himself, it is to be supposed, heard it from one of his vassals. Once, when out riding, this man had been well-nigh struck senseless by the sudden apparition of a fearsome monster like a bear with the ears and tail of an ass. "Fear not," quoth the brute, "for I was once a man as you are now; but because I lived like a beast I have been made to assume the shape of a beast." Asked who he had been, and what was the nature of his suffering, the monster replied: "I am that

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[1] *Gest. Rom. Ecc.*, ii., cc. 8 and 9, ap. *M. G. Libell.*, ii.

[2] *Ib.*, cc. 9, 10.

[3] At any rate he concludes the story told in the text as follows: "Jure igitur qui (Benedict IX.) luxuriose et carnaliter vixit in asini simul et ursi figura comparuit. Cui nimirum quis non videat quanto melius fuerat, ut episcopatum deserens, pœnitentiam ageret, quam in eo usque ad vitæ terminum perseverans, veram vitam funditus perdidisse?" Opusc. 19, c. 3, *P. L.*, t. 145, p. 429. It will be seen that the above is rather a necessary *moral* drawn from the story he has just repeated than strict historical narration.

Benedict who lately most unworthily obtained the Apostolic See. From my death till the day of final doom I am to be dragged through places of nameless horror reeking with sulphurous flames. After that dread day I am to be buried body and soul in the bottomless pit, so that no hope of betterment is left to me."

From (*b*) the tradition of Grottaferrata.

Needless to say, it is far more likely that the narrative of Luke, seventh abbot of Grottaferrata († probably *c.* 1085), is correct, and that Benedict at length did real penance. This is what he tells us of that unhappy Pope: "He who then presided over the Apostolic See, a mere youth, was a slave to pleasure, and through human frailty had fallen into sin. At last, turning from passion, and seeking absolution for what he had done amiss, he wished to have our father[1] to reconcile him and intercede for him. Wherefore, summoning him to him, he made known to him his guilt with the greatest confusion and fidelity, and begged a suitable remedy. The holy man regarded not the splendour of his see nor his dignity, and had no thought of presents or honours as have many to whom the care of souls has been entrusted. But, applying a suitable remedy to wounds right hard to cure, said to him: 'It is not lawful for you to perform the duties of a bishop; you must vacate your office, and try to please God whom your sins have angered.' Straightway, without the slightest delay, he gave up his see and became a private man."[2]

Moreover, in the office of matins for the feast of the abbot St. Bartholomew, there is a notice of his death by the same abbot Luke. In it we read: "All who have thee for patron . . . . come to-day to celebrate thy feast. . . .

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[1] St. Bartholomew, the fourth abbot and disciple of St. Nilus. He died about 1065.

[2] The *Life* of St. Bartholomew, probably by Luke, ap. Mai, *Nova Pat. Bib.*, vi. 519–520.

He too, who once ruled in splendour from the apostolic throne, and now, persuaded by thy words, clings to thee as to his father and enjoys the fulness of thy teaching"; and again at Compline: "When, O Father, thou didst see . . . . the Roman Pontiff rejected, thou didst induce him by thy words of wisdom to abdicate his throne and end his days (happily) in the monastic life."[1]

The traditional belief of the monastery, that Benedict IX. died penitent within its walls, has been, and is, still attested by artistic monuments. Till 1713 there was to be seen "on the wall of an ancient corridor, near the chapel of SS. Nilus and Bartholomew," which was destroyed during the construction of the new building, a medallion representing "a cowled monk holding in his hand a tiara which he was presenting to our Lady. Beneath was an inscription, 'Benedictus IX.' and some Latin verses, which unfortunately have not been preserved."[2]

Finally, in the wall of the comparatively new abbey church there is a sepulchral slab which, for the sake of preserving it from further destruction, was removed to its present site from the pavement of the old church. On it, in old mosaics, is to be seen a chequered eagle, "the arms of the Conti,[3] counts of Tusculum, surmounted by a cross and supported by two seraphs." "This is regarded on good grounds as the monument of Benedict IX. The decoration of an altar in the narthex also connects the repentance of Benedict with his life in the monastery. While the papal insignia and the heraldic bearings of the (then) reigning Pontiff, Leo IX., one of the immediate successors of Benedict, have their due place in the structure, the *charge* of the Conti, in diminutive proportions, is modestly half concealed on the lower step, as if the penitent Pope had wished to leave a perpetual memory of his humble submission."[1]

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[1] Quoted in *St. Benedict and Grottaferrata* (Rome, 1895), p. 46. Various later writings, still preserved in the monastery, show that it has always been its belief that Benedict IX. died a monk within its walls.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 47. That Benedict should have chosen Grottaferrata as his place of penance seems very natural when it is remembered that the site was given to St. Nilus, its founder, by Benedict's grandfather, Gregory of Tusculum. In the present church of the abbey, near what is supposed to be the tomb of Benedict, is a modern mosaic of him. This is on the *west* wall on the Gospel side. On the question of the repentance of Benedict see at great length Placentinius, *De sepulcro B. IX.*, Rome, 1747.

[3] The arms of Innocent III., one of the Conti, show the same eagle surmounted by a crown. The Conti "c'étaient d'anciens comtes de Tuscolo ayant même origine que les Comtes de Segni (Innocent III.,

Of poor Benedict IX. is it remarkably true, if, as I believe, the Grottaferrata tradition be well founded—

> "The evil that men do lives after them ;
> The good is oft interred with their bones."
>
> *Julius Cæsar*, iii. 2.

When did Benedict retire to Grottaferrata?

When exactly, it may be asked, did Benedict retire to Grottaferrata? Not, apparently, till after the death of St. Leo IX., as may be gathered from the dying prayer attributed to him by Libuin. The subdeacon relates that, after the saint had prayed for about an hour in silence, he broke out in a low voice (*leniter*): "Great God, convert to Thyself Theophylactus (Benedict IX.), Gregory and Peter (his two brothers), who fostered the heresy of Simon well-nigh throughout the world. Make them so know the way of truth that they may leave their errors, and turn to Thee."[2]

Grégoire IX., Alexandre IV., et enfin Innocent XIII.), dont les armes se blasonnent 'de gueules à l'aigle échiquetée de sable et d'or couronnée de même.'" Frassoni, *Essai d'armorial des Papes*, p. 9. Hence it is quite possible that the arms referred to in the text may belong to some other *Conti* benefactor of the abbey, and not to Benedict IX.

[1] *St. Benedict and Grottaferrata, l.c.*

[2] C. 5, ap. Watterich, i., p. 174. "Magne Deus . . . . ad te converte Theophylactum et Gregorium et Petrum qui in pene toto mundo Simoniacam hæresim solidaverunt, et ita fac eos cognoscere viam veritatis," etc.

It may be, then, that the dying prayer of Leo was heard; and that, even if Beno is correct in stating that Benedict made another attempt to seize the Papacy after Leo's death (1054), the wretched ex-pontiff repented, and retired to Grottaferrata some time after Leo's death, and before that of Abbot Bartholomew, *c.* 1065.

The *bad* Popes during the régime of feudal anarchy.

Now that we have drawn the portraits of the Popes during Rome's darkest hour with practically all the significant details which have been left us by contemporary authors, it is to be hoped that such as have had the patience to scrutinise them will be in a position to estimate at their true value the words of wild exaggeration which are used to describe the Popes of this period by many Catholic[1] and non-Catholic writers alike.

Excluding the acknowledged intruders (*invasores*), the antipopes Christopher and Boniface VII., as also *Donus II.*, for the simple reason that there was no such Pope, thirty-seven Pontiffs filled the chair of Peter from the death of Stephen (V.) VI. (891) to the accession of St. Leo IX. (1049). Of these, considering them strictly as *Popes* and not taking into account what they may have been before they became such, the impartial verdict of history cannot condemn as really a disgrace to their sacred calling more than four at most. These four would include the *two* youths, John XII. and Benedict IX., whose very youth is some excuse for their evil deeds, Stephen VII., the probable tool of a revengeful queen, and the very doubtful case of Sergius III. But John X. and Benedict VIII. are not to be set down as bad Popes or bishops because they fought the Saracens; on the contrary, under the circumstances it was to their credit. If we allow that Gregory V. tolerated or encouraged the unnecessarily degrading punishment of a most worthless man who thoroughly deserved punishment, is that enough to brand him as wicked? And if it is conceded that one bishop was made Pope by the influence of a woman with whom he had had unlawful connections before he became Pope, does it follow absolutely that as Head of the Church he continued his evil life? Authentic evidence goes to show that, even if the confused stories of the libellous Liutprand are accepted as sober history, John X., of whom the above is said, was a worthy Pontiff. Supposing, further, it is granted that the son of a bad woman mounted the apostolic throne, must we perforce see the advent of a ruffian? As a matter of fact, John XI., of whom this is alleged by one who, on his own showing, was a prurient-minded, conceited, spiteful flatterer, viz. Liutprand, showed himself the possessor of an unblemished character.

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[1] It is much to be regretted that an author like the Rev. Dr. A. Fortescue (*The Orthodox Eastern Church*, p. 172) should write in this loose fashion: "During that long period (884–1046) of a century and a half there is hardly one, perhaps not one Pope, who was an ordinarily good bishop. It is a long story of simoniacal elections, murder and violence of every kind, together with shameless lust. The Romans still remember the three abominable women (*le donne cattive*), old Theodora, Marozia, and young Theodora, who from about 900 till 932 ruled Rome, . . . setting up one wretched boy after another as Pope."

As for the other Pontiffs of this age of brute force, let him who is without sin cast a stone at them, and he will be throwing at men better than himself.[1]

The Popes of the tenth century were, in the main, not so disedifying as those of the sixteenth. The temporal position of the former was weak, while that of the latter was strong; and as soon as the Pontiffs of the Dark Age were freed from the tyrannical grasp of the Roman barons, they improved immediately. Still, it is with a sigh of relief that the biographer of the Popes of the tenth century and the first half of the eleventh, brings his labours on them to a conclusion. And this, not so much on account of the characters of the Popes themselves, as of those around them, and on account of the general lawlessness and obscurity of the times. If it is the business of the historian to present accurate pictures and portraits, he must ever be dissatisfied when he has to deal with men and things in the dusk or in the dark. He knows it is hard to draw a correct likeness even when helped by the strongest light. Under the most favourable circumstances the number of artists who can produce a living, speaking portrait is but small. One of the greater number, then, may well feel distressed when he has to work under the most disadvantageous conditions.

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[1] For a more lengthy summary of the characters of the Popes of the tenth century the reader may consult Miley, *History of the Papal States*, ii. 258–291, 340. Though his want of books prevented that writer from being always accurate, he is always worth reading, despite the fact that he is at times rambling and discursive.

But if he fails with regard to succeeding Popes to present true portraits of them, he will, at least, but seldom ever be able to ascribe his failure to want of a good historical light.

APPENDIX.

DE ORDINANDO PONTIFICE, AUCTOR GALLICUS.

There can be no doubt that this document is the work of a cleric and of one of no mean rank, probably a *chorepiscopus*, though not a bishop,[1] whose correspondent, who had evidently written to ask for his views on the state of affairs in Rome, and who had expressed his determination to work for their reform,[2] was a bishop and, like the author of this fragment, a Gallo-Frank.[3]

The drift of the whole fragment is to show that, granting Gregory VI. was guilty of simony in his dealings with Benedict IX., the king as a civil ruler had no right to interfere in matters ecclesiastical, and to bring about his deposition. The only Popes, then, of whom the pamphlet speaks are Gregory and his predecessor and successor.[4]

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[1] "Nostrum non erat de talibus loqui, cum etiam *in inferiori gradu episcoporum* denegetur *nobis* potestas judicandi." P. 8.

[2] By saying that superiors are not to be called to order by their inferiors, "nec vos ab incepto terrere volumus. . . . Deo gratias potius referentes, qui æcclesiam suam ita vult relevari in melius." *Ib.*

[3] To the consecration of Gregory VI. "episcopi Franciæ nec invitati sunt nec dedere consensum. Qui ergo secernuntur ab ordinatione, absolvantur et a debito obedientiæ. *Unde* alio anno bene fecistis, quod ab invitationem sui concilii ire renuistis." P. 11.

[4] Hence, when in note 7, p. 11, Dümmler refers the pronoun "hunc" to Damasus II., he would seem to have made a mistake. The Pope signified is Gregory VI. Higher up the page it is asked, "Quis enim hunc, *de quo laboramus*, elegit?" Then comes, a little lower down, the passage annotated by Dümmler: "Hunc autem quis ordinavit?" and almost immediately afterwards: "Sed dicunt 'in lege Domini fuit

Our author does not, indeed, call in question the assertion of Gregory's friends, viz. that his "will was in the law of the Lord" (Ps. i. 2); but, as he does not think that an unbaptized man can gain heaven by his will alone, so he does not believe that Gregory's will is enough, after his simony, to merit heaven for him, no more than it had sufficed to keep him on the throne he had mounted by stealth. Yet, despite his guilt, his deposition was an act of tyranny and opposed to the canons, because he was condemned by one who had no right to condemn him; for "the supreme and universal pontiff" is to be judged by God only.

Undoubtedly the first Pope to whom the pamphlet alludes is Benedict IX.,[1] and it is of him apparently that the beginning of the next paragraph speaks.[2] Its "illi unde nobis *principaliter* sermo" seems to refer to the same person that is mentioned at the beginning of the previous paragraph,[3] viz. to Benedict IX. This would appear to be certain, because it goes on to say that the said Pope deprived *himself* of his ill-gotten position; that, moved by the animadversions of those around him and by the torment of his own conscience, he agreed to give up his position if anyone would give him the sum of money he paid to obtain it. Satan, says the pamphleteer, was not long in finding someone[4] to do this who then himself sat in the same "chair of pestilence." "For it is absurd to call it the chair of the Apostles. That is obtained by merit, not by money." All this can only refer to the transactions between Benedict IX. and Gregory VI.; and so when our author goes on first to assert that, whether the money was paid by the man or, as some pretend, by his relations with his consent, he was guilty of simony, and then[5] to ask who elected him, and who consecrated him, he is obviously still speaking all the time of Gregory, and not first of Gregory and finally of Damasus II., as Dümmler supposes.[6] Then, after observing that his simony

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voluntas ejus.'" And on p. 13 we are told that Henry, knowing that a certain Pope, "cum in lege Domini voluntas papæ illius esset," would not approve of his marriage, "constituted" one who would. The Pope then whose "will was in the law of the Lord" was clearly Gregory VI.

[1] P. 9.

[2] P. 10. Dümmler refers it to Gregory VI.

[3] "Procedat ab exordio quem ex depositione relevatum nunc habet improba Romanorum provectio." P. 9.

[4] Clearly Gregory VI.

[5] P. 11.

[6] P. 12.

blasted his entrance into the pontificate, and his unfruitful toil did not bless his leaving it, our author puts the question why he should discuss his case further, as his death has transferred it to the Divine examination. However, the anonymous author proceeds to show that it is forbidden both by civil and canon[1] law for the laity to interfere in the causes of bishops. Further, it is no excuse for the king to urge that Gregory confessed his guilt, for he did so under compulsion; nor to pretend that, from want of knowledge of canon law, he thought he was within his rights in acting as he did. For he ought to know that "in law confession must not be extracted by force." Besides to God alone, who has reserved His judgment to Himself, has the supreme pontiff to confess; and as to whether he was a bishop or not rests not with the king to decide but with the bishops; because they and not kings hold the place of Christ.

I have submitted this fragment to a fresh examination, as our authorities for the period under discussion are few, and it is of importance that such as we have should be clearly comprehended.

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[1] P. 13.

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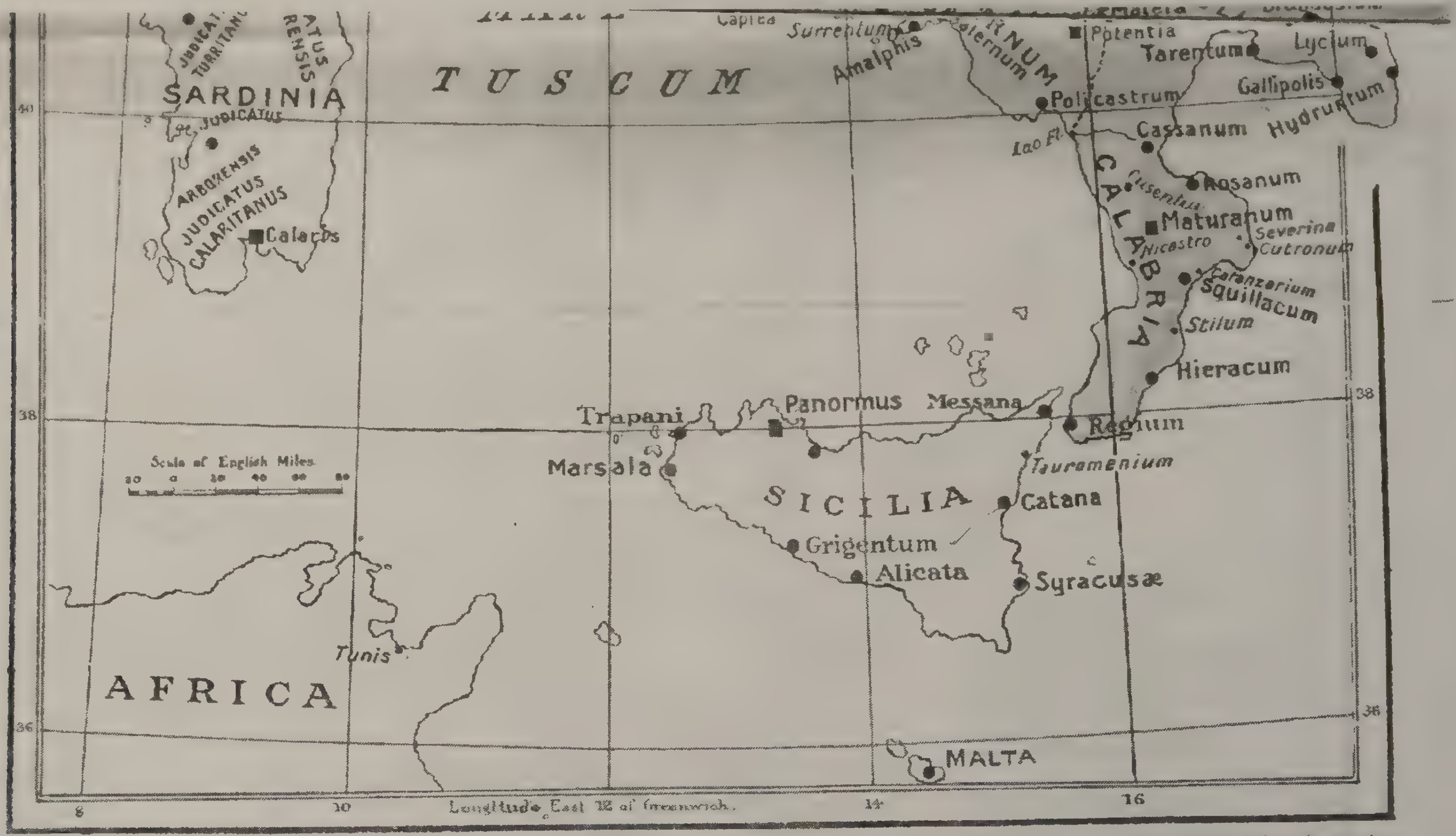

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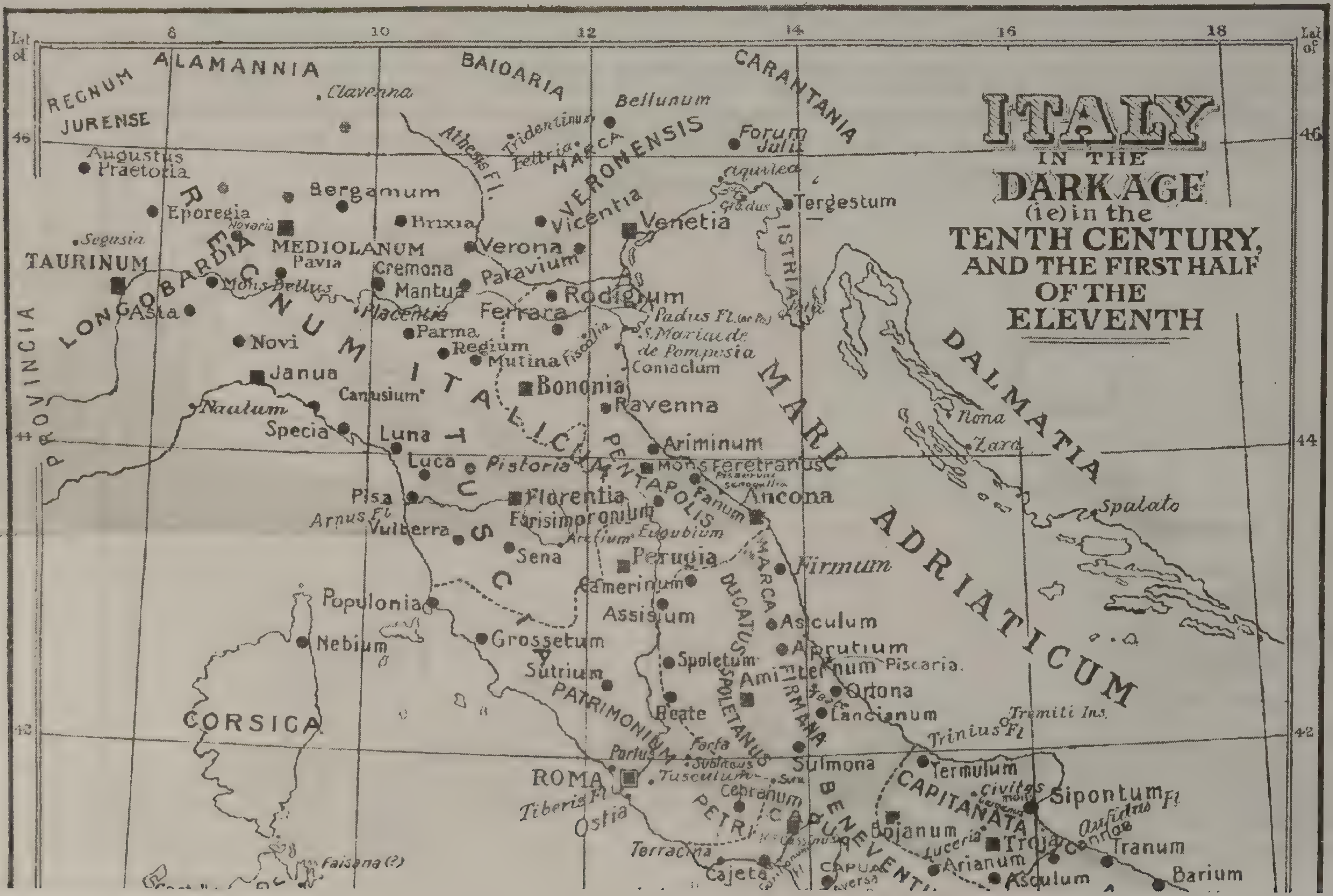

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